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TWENTY-TWO VOLUMES

VOL. XVIII

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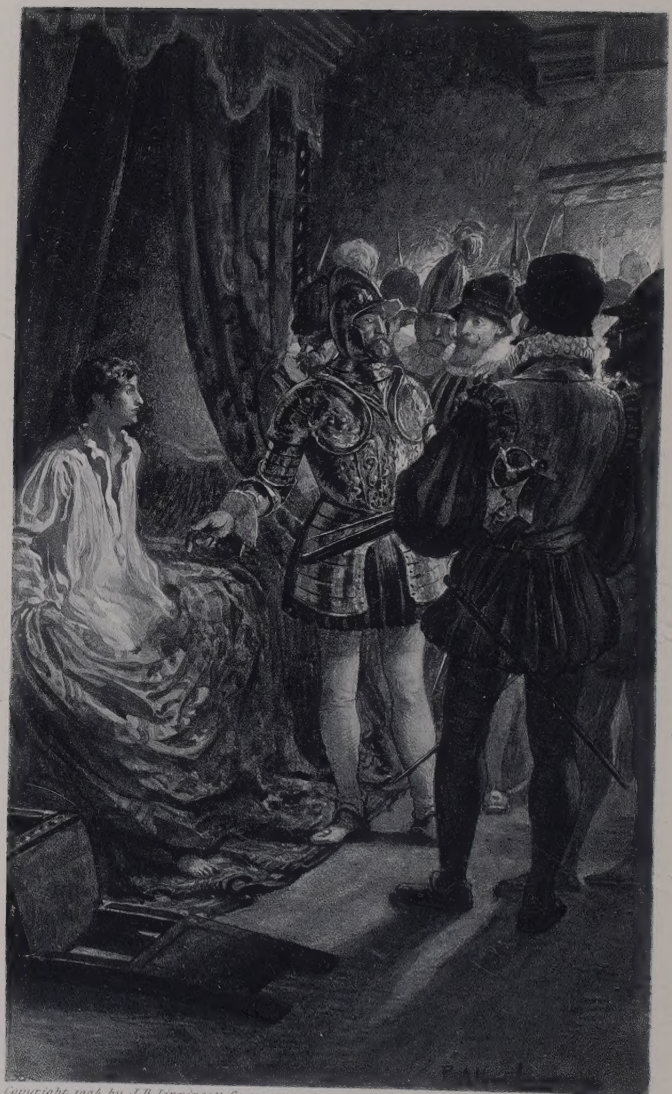

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Montezuma Edition

HISTORY OF THE REIGN

OF

Philip the Second

KING OF SPAIN

BY

WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT

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JOHN FOSTER KIRK

VOL. III

PHILADELPHIA AND LONDON

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HISTORY OF PHILIP THE SECOND

BOOK III

(CONTINUED)

HISTORY OF PHILIP THE SECOND

CHAPTER III

REIGN OF TERROR

Numerous Arrests—Trials and Executions—Confiscations—Orange assembles an Army—Battle of Heyligerlee—Alva's Proceedings

1568

IN the beginning of 1568, Philip, if we may trust the historians, resorted to a very extraordinary measure for justifying to the world his rigorous proceedings against the Netherlands. He submitted the case to the Inquisition at Madrid; and that ghostly tribunal, after duly considering the evidence derived from the information of the king and of the inquisitors in the Netherlands, came to the following decision. All who had been guilty of heresy, apostasy, or sedition, and all, moreover, who, though professing themselves good Catholics, had offered no resistance to these, were, with the exception of a few specified individuals, thereby convicted of treason in the highest degree.[1]

This sweeping judgment was followed by a royal edict, dated on the same day, the sixteenth of

[1] De Thou, Hist. gén., tom. v. p. 437.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 54.—The latter historian cites the words of the original instrument.

February, in which, after reciting the language of the Inquisition, the whole nation, with the exception above stated, was sentenced, without distinction of sex or age, to the penalties of treason,— death and confiscation of property; and this, the decree went on to say, " without any hope of grace whatever, that it might serve for an example and a warning to all future time! " [2]

It is difficult to give credit to a story so monstrous, repeated though it has been by successive writers without the least distrust of its correctness. Not that anything can be too monstrous to be believed of the Inquisition. But it was not easy to believe that a sagacious prince like Philip the Second, however willing he might be to shelter himself under the mantle of the Holy Office, could have lent himself to an act as impolitic as it was absurd; one that, confounding the innocent with the guilty, would drive both to desperation,— would incite the former, from a sense of injury, to take up rebellion, by which there was nothing more to lose, and the latter to persist in it, since there was nothing more to hope.[3]

The messenger who brought to Margaret the royal permission to resign the regency delivered

[2] " Voulans et ordonnans qu'ainsi en soit faict, afin que ceste serieuse sentence serve d'exemple, et donné crainte pour l'advenir, sans aucune esperance de grace." Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 54.

[3] Among contemporary writers whom I have consulted, I find no authorities for this remarkable statement except Meteren and De Thou. This might seem strange to one who credited the story, but not so strange as that a proceeding so extraordinary should have escaped the vigilance of Llorente, the secretary of the Holy Office, who had all its papers at his command. I have met with no allusion whatever to it in his pages.

to Alva his commission as captain-general of the Netherlands. This would place the duke, as Philip wrote him, beyond the control of the council of finance in the important matter of the confiscations.[4] It raised him, indeed, not only above that council, but above every other council in the country. It gave him an authority not less than that of the sovereign himself. And Alva prepared to stretch this to an extent greater than any sovereign of the Netherlands had ever ventured on. The time had now come to put his terrible machinery into operation. The regent was gone, who, if she could not curb, might at least criticise his actions. The prisons were full; the processes were completed. Nothing remained but to pass sentence and to execute.

On the fourth of January, 1568, we find eighty-four persons sentenced to death at Valenciennes on the charge of having taken part in the late movements,—religious or political.[5] On the twentieth of February, ninety-five persons were arraigned before the Council of Blood, and thirty-seven capitally convicted.[6] On the twentieth of March thirty-five more were condemned.[7] The governor's emissaries were out in every direction. "I heard that preaching was going on at Antwerp," he writes to Philip, "and I sent my own

[4] "Au moyen de la patente de gouverneur général que le duc aura reçue, il pourra faire cesser les entraves que mettait le conseil des finances à ce qu'il disposât des deniers des confiscations." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 609.

[5] Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, tom. xvi. par. ii. p. 62.

[6] Ibid., p. 62.

[7] Ibid., p. 63.

provost there, for I cannot trust the authorities. He arrested a good number of heretics. They will never attend another such meeting. The magistrates complain that the interference of the provost was a violation of their privileges. The magistrates may as well take it patiently." [8] The pleasant manner in which the duke talks over the fate of his victims with his master may remind one of the similar dialogues between Petit André and Louis the Eleventh, in " Quentin Durward."

The proceedings in Ghent may show the course pursued in the other cities. Commissioners were sent to that capital, to ferret out the suspected. No less than a hundred and forty-seven were summoned before the council at Brussels. Their names were cried about the streets and posted up in placards on the public buildings. Among them were many noble and wealthy individuals. The officers were particularly instructed to ascertain the wealth of the parties. Most of the accused contrived to make their escape. They preferred flight to the chance of an acquittal by the bloody tribunal,—though flight involved certain banishment and confiscation of property. Eighteen only answered the summons by repairing to Brussels. They were all arrested on the same day, at their lodgings, and, without exception, were sentenced to death! Five or six of the principal were beheaded. The rest perished on the gallows.[9]

[8] " Le magistrat s'est plaint de l'infraction de ses priviléges, à cause de l'envoi dudit prévôt; mais il faudra bien qu'il prenne patience." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 13.

[9] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. pp. 243–247.— The author tells us he collected these particulars from the memoirs

Impatient of what seemed to him a too tardy method of following up his game, the duke determined on a bolder movement, and laid his plans for driving a goodly number of victims into the toils at once. He fixed on Ash Wednesday for the time,—the beginning of Lent, when men, after the Carnival was past, would be gathered soberly in their own dwellings.[10] The officers of justice entered their premises at dead of night, and no less than five hundred citizens were dragged from their beds and hurried off to prison.[11] They all received sentence of death![12] "I have reiterated the sentence again and again," he writes to Philip, "for they torment me with inquiries whether in this or that case it might not be commuted for banish-

and diaries of eye-witnesses,—confirmed, moreover, by the acts and public registers of the time. The authenticity of the statement, he adds, is incontestable.

[10] See the circular of Alva to the officers charged with these arrests, in the Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii., Appendix, p. 660.

[11] "Et, affin que ledict duc d'Alve face apparoir de plus son affection sanguinaire et tyrannicque, il a, passé peu de temps, faict appréhender, tout sur une nuict [le 3 mars, 1568], en toutes les villes des pays d'embas, ung grand nombre de ceulx qu'il a tenu suspect en leur foy, et les faict mectre hors leurs maisons et lictz en prison, pour en après, à sa commodité, faire son plaisir et volunté avecque lesdicts prisonniers." Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. iii. p. 9.—The extract is from a memorial addressed by William to the emperor, vindicating his own course, and exposing, with the indignant eloquence of a patriot, the wrongs and calamities of his country. This document, printed by Gachard, is a version from the German original by the hand of a contemporary. A modern translation—so ambitious in its style that one may distrust its fidelity—is also to be found in the Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, Supplément, p. 91, et seq.

[12] "Se prendieron cerca de quinientos. . . . He mandado justiciar todos," says Alva to the king, in a letter written in cipher, April 13th, 1568. (Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 488.) Not one escaped! It is told with an air of *nonchalance* truly appalling.

ment. They weary me of my life with their importunities." [13] He was not too weary, however, to go on with the bloody work; for in the same letter we find him reckoning that three hundred heads more must fall before it will be time to talk of a general pardon.[14]

It was common, says an old chronicler, to see thirty or forty persons arrested at once. The wealthier burghers might be seen, with their arms pinioned behind them, dragged at the horse's tail to the place of execution.[15] The poorer sort were not even summoned to take their trial in Brussels. Their cases were despatched at once, and they were hung up, without further delay, in the city or in the suburbs.[16]

Brandt, in his History of the Reformation, has collected many particulars respecting the persecution, especially in his own province of Holland, during that "reign of terror." Men of lower consideration, when dragged to prison, were often cruelly tortured on the rack, to extort confessions implicating themselves or their friends. The modes of death adjudged by the bloody tribunal were various. Some were beheaded with the sword,—a distinction reserved, as it would seem,

[13] "Que cada dia me quiebran la cabeza con dudas de que si el que delinquió desta manera meresce la muerte, ó si el que delinquió desta otra meresce destierro, que no me dejan vivir, y no basta con ellos." Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 488.

[14] "En este catigo que agora se hace y en el que vendrá despues de Pascua tengo que pasará de ochocientas cabezas." Ibid., p. 489.

[15] "Les Bourgeois qui estoyēt riches de quarante, soixante, et cent mille florins, il les faysoit attacher à la queuë d'un cheval, et ainsi les faysoit trainer, ayant les mains liées sur le dos, jusques au lieu où on les debvoit pendre." Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 55.

[16] Ibid., ubi supra.

for persons of condition. Some were sentenced to the gibbet, and others to the stake.[17] This last punishment, the most dreadful of all, was confined to the greater offenders against religion. But it seems to have been left much to the caprice of the judges, sometimes even of the brutal soldiery who superintended the executions. At least we find the Spanish soldiers, on one occasion, in their righteous indignation, throwing into the flames an unhappy Protestant preacher whom the court had sentenced to the gallows.[18]

The soldiers of Alva were many of them veterans, who had borne arms against the Protestants under Charles the Fifth,—comrades of the men who at that very time were hunting down the natives of the New World and slaughtering them by thousands in the name of religion. With them the sum and substance of religion were comprised in a blind faith in the Romish Church, and in uncompromising hostility to the heretic. The life of the heretic was the most acceptable sacrifice that could be offered to Jehovah. With hearts thus seared by fanaticism and made callous by long familiarity with human suffering, they were the very ministers to do the bidding of such a master as the duke of Alva.

The cruelty of the persecutors was met by an indomitable courage on the part of their victims. Most of the offences were, in some way or other, connected with religion. The accused were

[17] "Ille [Vargas] promiscuè laqueo, igne, homines enecare." Reidanus, Annales, p. 6.

[18] Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 274.

preachers, or had aided and comforted the preachers, or had attended their services, or joined the consistories, or afforded evidence, in some form, that they had espoused the damnable doctrines of heresy. It is precisely in such a case, where men are called to suffer for conscience' sake, that they are prepared to endure all,—to die in defence of their opinions. The storm of persecution fell on persons of every condition; men and women, the young, the old, the infirm and helpless. But the weaker the party, the more did his spirit rise to endure his sufferings. Many affecting instances are recorded of persons who, with no support but their trust in Heaven, displayed the most heroic fortitude in the presence of their judges, and, by the boldness with which they asserted their opinions, seemed even to court the crown of martyrdom. On the scaffold and at the stake this intrepid spirit did not desert them, and the testimony they bore to the truth of the cause for which they suffered had such an effect on the bystanders that it was found necessary to silence them. A cruel device for more effectually accomplishing this was employed by the officials. The tip of the tongue was seared with a red-hot iron, and the swollen member then compressed between two plates of metal screwed fast together. Thus gagged, the groans of the wretched sufferer found vent in strange sounds that excited the brutal merriment of his tormentors.[19]

[19] "Hark how they sing!" exclaimed a friar in the crowd; "should they not be made to dance too?" Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 275.

Ambroise Paré

But it is needless to dwell longer on the miseries endured by the people of the Netherlands in this season of trial. Yet, if the cruelties perpetrated in the name of religion are most degrading to humanity, they must be allowed to have called forth the most sublime spectacle which humanity can present,—that of the martyr offering up his life on the altar of principle.

It is difficult—in fact, from the data in my possession, not possible—to calculate the number of those who fell by the hand of the executioner in this dismal persecution.[20] The number, doubtless, was not great as compared with the population of the country,—not so great as we may find left, almost every year of our lives, on a single battle-field. When the forms of legal proceedings are maintained, the movements of justice—if the name can be so profaned—are comparatively

[20] It will be understood that I am speaking of the period embraced in this portion of the history, terminating at the beginning of June, 1568, when the Council of Blood had been in active operation about four months,—the period when the sword of legal persecution fell heaviest. Alva, in the letter above cited to Philip, admits eight hundred—including three hundred to be examined after Easter—as the number of victims. (Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 489.) Viglius, in a letter of the twenty-ninth of March, says fifteen hundred had been already cited before the tribunal, the greater part of whom—they had probably fled the country—were condemned for contumacy. (Epist. ad Hopperum, p. 415.) Grotius, alluding to this period, speaks even more vaguely of the multitude of the victims, as *innumerable:* "Stipatæ reis custodiæ, innumeri mortales necati: ubique una species ut captæ civitatis." (Annales, p. 29.) So also Hooft, cited by Brandt: "The Gallows, the Wheels, Stakes, and Trees in the highways, were loaden with carcasses or limbs of such as had been hanged, beheaded, or roasted; so that the air, which God had made for respiration of the living, was now become the common grave or habitation of the dead." (Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 261.) Language like this, however expressive, does little for statistics.

tardy. It is only, as in the French Revolution, when thousands are swept down by the cannon, or whole cargoes of wretched victims are plunged at once into the waters, that death moves on with the gigantic stride of pestilence and war.

But the amount of suffering from such a persecution is not to be estimated merely by the number of those who have actually suffered death, when the fear of death hung like a naked sword over every man's head. Alva had expressed to Philip the wish that every man, as he lay down at night or as he rose in the morning, "might feel that his house, at any hour, might fall and crush him!"[21] This humane wish was accomplished. Those who escaped death had to fear a fate scarcely less dreadful, in banishment and confiscation of property. The persecution very soon took this direction; and persecution when prompted by avarice is even more odious than when it springs from fanaticism, which, however degrading in itself, is but the perversion of the religious principle.

Sentence of perpetual exile and confiscation was pronounced at once against all who fled the country.[22] Even the dead were not spared; as is shown by the process instituted against the marquis of

[21] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 4.

[22] Sentences passed by the Council of Blood against a great number of individuals—two thousand or more—have been collected in a little volume (Sententien en Indagingen van Alba) published at Amsterdam in 1735. The parties condemned were for the most part natives of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht. They would seem, with very few exceptions, to have been absentees, and, being pronounced guilty of contumacy, were sentenced to banishment and the confiscation of their property. The volume furnishes a more emphatic commentary on the proceedings of Alva than any thing which could come from the pen of the historian.

Bergen for the confiscation of his estates on the charge of treason. That nobleman had gone with Montigny, as the reader may remember, on his mission to Madrid, where he had recently died,—more fortunate than his companion, who survived for a darker destiny. The duke's emissaries were everywhere active in making up their inventories of the property of the suspected parties. "I am going to arrest some of the richest and the worst offenders," writes Alva to his master, "and bring them to a pecuniary composition." [23] He shall next proceed, he says, against the delinquent cities. In this way a round sum will flow into his majesty's coffers.[24] The victims of this class were so numerous that we find a single sentence of the council sometimes comprehending eighty or a hundred individuals. One before me, in fewer words than are taken up by the names of the parties, dooms no less than a hundred and thirty-five inhabitants of Amsterdam to confiscation and exile.[25]

One may imagine the distress brought on this once flourishing country by this wholesale proscription; for, besides the parties directly interested, there was a host of others incidentally affected,—hospitals and charitable establishments, widows and helpless orphans, now reduced to want by the failure of the sources which supplied them

[23] "Acabando este castigo comenzaré á prender algunos particulares de los mas culpados y mas ricos para moverlos á que vengan a composicion." Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 489.

[24] "Destos tales se saque todo el golpe de dinero que sea possible." Ibid., ubi supra.

[25] Sententien van Alva, bl. 122–124.

with their ordinary subsistence.[26] Slow and sparing must have been the justice doled out to such impotent creditors, when they preferred their claims to a tribunal like the Council of Blood! The effect was soon visible in the decay of trade and the rapid depopulation of the towns. Notwithstanding the dreadful penalties denounced against fugitives, great numbers, especially from the border states, contrived to make their escape. The neighboring districts of Germany opened their arms to the wanderers; and many a wretched exile from the northern provinces, flying across the frozen waters of the Zuyder Zee, found refuge within the hospitable walls of Embden.[27] Even in an inland city like Ghent, half the houses, if we may credit the historian, were abandoned.[28] Not a family was there, he says, but some of its members had tasted the bitterness of exile or of death.[29] "The fury of persecution," writes the prince of Orange, "spreads such horror throughout the nation that thousands, and among them some of the principal Papists, have fled a country where tyranny seems to be directed against all, without distinction of faith."[30]

[26] "Combien d'Hospitaux, Vefues, et Orphelins, estoyent par ce moyen privés de leur rentes, et moyẽs de vivre!" Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 55.

[27] Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 265.

[28] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 247.

[29] Ibid., p. 245.

[30] "Par laquelle auparavant jamais ouye tyrannie et persécution, ledict duc d'Albe a causé partout telle peur, que aulcuns milles personnes, et mesmement ceulx estans principaulx papistes, se sont retirez en dedens peu de temps hors les Pays-Bas, en considération que ceste tyrannie s'exerce contre tous, sans aulcune distinction de la religion." Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. iii. p. 14.

Yet in a financial point of view the results did not keep pace with Alva's wishes. Notwithstanding the large amount of the confiscations, the proceeds, as he complains to Philip, were absorbed in so many ways, especially by the peculation of his agents, that he doubted whether the expense would not come to more than the profits![31] He was equally dissatisfied with the conduct of other functionaries. The commissioners sent into the provinces, instead of using their efforts to detect the guilty, seemed disposed, he said, rather to conceal them. Even the members of the Council of Troubles manifested so much apathy in their vocation as to give him more annoyance than the delinquents themselves![32] The only person who showed any zeal is the service was Vargas. He was worth all the others of the council put together.[33] The duke might have excepted from this sweeping condemnation Hessels, the lawyer of Ghent, if the rumors concerning him were true. This worthy councillor, it is said, would sometimes fall asleep in his chair, worn out by the fatigue of trying causes and signing death-warrants. In this state, when suddenly called on to pronounce the doom of the prisoner, he would cry out, half

[31] "Que temo no venga á ser mayor la espesa de los ministros que el útil que dello se sacará." Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 495.

[32] "El tribunal todo que hice para estas cosas no solamente no me ayuda, pero estórbame tanto que tengo mas que hacer con ellos que con los delincuentes." Ibid., ubi supra.

[33] Vargas passed as summary a judgment on the people of the Netherlands as that imputed to the Inquisition, condensing it into a memorable sentence, much admired for its Latinity: "*Hæretici fraxerunt templa, boni nihil faxerunt contrà, ergo debent omnes patibulare.*" Reidanus, Annales, p. 5.

awake, and rubbing his eyes, "*Ad patibulum! Ad patibulum!*"—"To the gallows! To the gallows!" [34]

But Vargas was after the duke's own heart. Alva was never weary of commending his follower to the king. He besought Philip to interpose in his behalf, and cause three suits which had been brought against that functionary to be suspended during his absence from Spain. The king accordingly addressed the judge on the subject. But the magistrate (his name should have been preserved) had the independence to reply that "justice must take its course, and could not be suspended from favor to any one." "Nor would I have it so," answered Philip (it is the king who tells it): "I would do only what is possible to save the interests of Vargas from suffering by his absence." In conclusion, he tells the duke that Vargus should give no heed to what is said of the suits, since he must be assured, after the letter he has received under the royal hand, that his sovereign fully approves his conduct.[35] But if Vargas, by his unscrupulous devotion to the cause, won the confidence of his employers, he incurred, on the other hand, the unmitigated hatred of the people,—a hatred deeper, it would almost seem, than even that which attached to Alva; owing perhaps to the circumstance that, as the instrument for the execution of the duke's measures, Vargus was

[34] "Quand on l'éveilloit pour dire son avis, il disoit tout endormi, en se frottant les yeux, *ad patibulum, ad patibulum*, c'est-à-dire, au gibet, au gibet." Aubéri, Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. de Hollande, p. 22.

[35] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 12.

brought more immediately in contact with the people than the duke himself.

As we have already seen, many, especially of those who dwelt in the border provinces, escaped the storm of persecution by voluntary exile. The suspected parties would seem to have received, not unfrequently, kindly intimations from the local magistrates of the fate that menaced them.[36] Others, who lived in the interior, were driven to more desperate courses. They banded together in considerable numbers, under the name of the "wild *Gueux*,"—"*Gueux sauvages*,"—and took refuge in the forests, particularly of West Flanders. Thence they sallied forth, fell upon unsuspecting travellers, especially the monks and ecclesiastics, whom they robbed, and sometimes murdered. Occasionally they were so bold as to invade the monasteries and churches, stripping them of their rich ornaments, their plate and other valuables, when, loaded with booty, they hurried back to their fastness. The evil proceeded to such a length that the governor-general was obliged to order out a strong force to exterminate the banditti, while at the same time he published an edict declaring that every district should be held responsible for the damage done to property within its limits by these marauders.[37]

It might be supposed that, under the general feeling of resentment provoked by Alva's cruel policy, his life would have been in constant danger

[36] Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. pp. 263, 264, et alibi.

[37] Grotius, Annales, p. 29.—Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 450.

from the hand of the assassin. Once, indeed, he had nearly fallen a victim to a conspiracy headed by two brothers, men of good family in Flanders, who formed a plan to kill him while attending mass at an abbey in the neighborhood of Brussels.[38] But Alva was not destined to fall by the hand of violence.

We may well believe that wise and temperate men, like Vigilus, condemned the duke's proceedings as no less impolitic than cruel. That this veteran councillor did so is apparent from his confidential letters, though he was too prudent to expose himself to Alva's enmity by openly avowing it.[39] There were others, however,—the princes of Germany, in particular,—who had no such reasons for dissembling, and who carried their remonstrances to a higher tribunal than that of the governor-general.

On the second of March, 1568, the emperor Maximilian, in the name of the electors, addressed a letter to Philip, in behalf of his oppressed subjects in the Netherlands. He reminded the king that he had already more than once, and in most affectionate terms, interceded with him for a milder and more merciful policy towards his Flemish subjects. He entreated his royal kinsman to reflect whether it were not better to insure the tranquillity of the state by winning the hearts of

[38] Campana, Guerra de Fiandra, fol. 38.—Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ix. p. 555.

[39] "Valde optaremus tandem aliquam funesti hujus temporis, criminaliumque processuum finem, qui non populum tantum nostrum, sed vicinos omnes exasperant." Viglii Epist. ad Hopperum, p. 482.

his people than by excessive rigor to drive them to extremity. And he concluded by intimating that, as a member of the Germanic body, the Netherlands had a right to be dealt with in that spirit of clemency which was conformable to the constitutions of the empire.[40]

Although neither the arguments nor the importunity of Maximilian had power to shake the constancy of Philip, he did not refuse to enter into some explanation, if not vindication, of his conduct. "What I have done," he replied, "has been for the repose of the provinces and for the defence of the Catholic faith. If I had respected justice less, I should have despatched the whole business in a single day. No one acquainted with the state of affairs will find reason to censure my severity. Nor would I do otherwise than I have done, though I should risk the sovereignty of the Netherlands,—no, though the world should fall in ruins around me!"[41] Such a reply effectually closed the correspondence.

The wretched people of the Netherlands, meanwhile, now looked to the prince of Orange as the only refuge left them, under Providence. Those who fled the country, especially persons of higher condition, gathered round his little court at Dillenburg, where they were eagerly devising plans for

[40] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 15.

[41] "Y quando por esta causa se aventurassen los Estados, y me viniesse á caer el mundo encima." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 27.—Philip seems to have put himself in the attitude of the "justum et tenacem" of Horace. His concluding hyperbole is almost a literal version of the Roman bard:

"Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ."

the best means of restoring freedom to their country. They brought with them repeated invitations from their countrymen to William that he would take up arms in their defence. The Protestants of Antwerp, in particular, promised that, if he would raise funds by coining his plate, they would agree to pay him double the value of it.[42]

William had no wish nearer his heart than that of assuming the enterprise. But he knew the difficulties that lay in the way, and, like a wise man, he was not disposed to enter on it till he saw the means of carrying it through successfully. To the citizens of Antwerp he answered that not only would he devote his plate, but his person and all that he possessed, most willingly, for the freedom of religion and of his country.[43] But the expenses of raising a force were great,—at the very least, six hundred thousand florins; nor could he now undertake to procure that amount, unless some of the principal merchants, whom he named, would consent to remain with him as security.[44]

In the mean time he was carrying on an extensive correspondence with the German princes, with the leaders of the Huguenot party in France, and even with the English government,—endeavoring to propitiate them to the cause, as one in which every Protestant had an interest. From the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse he

[42] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, Supplément, p. 87.

[43] "Il n'est pas seulement content de s'employer à la nécessité présente par le moyen par eulx proposé touchant sa vasselle, ains de sa propre personne, et de tout ce que reste en son pouvoir." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, Supplément, p. 88.

[44] Ibid., ubi supra.

received assurances of aid. Considerable sums seem to have been secretly remitted from the principal towns in the Low Countries; while Culemborg, Hoogstraten, Louis of Nassau, and the other great lords who shared his exile, contributed as largely as their dilapidated fortunes would allow.[45] The prince himself parted with his most precious effects, pawning his jewels, and sending his plate to the mint,—"the ornaments of a palace," exclaims an old writer, "but yielding little for the necessities of war."[46]

By these sacrifices a considerable force was assembled before the end of April, consisting of the most irregular and incongruous materials. There were German mercenaries, who had no interest in the cause beyond their pay; Huguenots from France, who brought into the field a hatred of the Roman Catholics which made them little welcome, even as allies, to a large portion of the Netherlands; and lastly, exiles from the Netherlands,—the only men worthy of the struggle,—who held life cheap in comparison with the great cause to which they devoted it. But these, however strong in their patriotism, were for the most

[45] The funds were chiefly furnished, as it would seem, by Antwerp, and the great towns of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Groningen, the quarter of the country where the spirit of independence was always high. The noble exiles with William contributed half the amount raised. This information was given to Alva by Villers, one of the banished lords, after he had fallen into the duke's hands in a disastrous affair, of which some account will be given in the present chapter. Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 27.

[46] "Ipse Arausionensis monilia, vasa argentea, tapetes, cætera supellectilis divendit, digna regio palatio ornamenta, sed exigui ad bellum momenti." Reidanus, Annales, p. 6.

part simply burghers, untrained to arms, and ill fitted to cope with the hardy veterans of Castile.

Before completing his levies, the prince of Orange, at the suggestion of his friend the landgrave of Hesse, prepared and published a document, known as his "Justification," in which he vindicated himself and his cause from the charges of Alva. He threw the original blame of the troubles on Granvelle, denied having planned or even promoted the confederacy of the nobles, and treated with scorn the charge of having, from motives of criminal ambition, fomented rebellion in a country where he had larger interests at stake than almost any other inhabitant. He touched on his own services, as well as those of his ancestors, and the ingratitude with which they had been requited by the throne. And in conclusion he prayed that his majesty might at length open his eyes to the innocence of his persecuted subjects, and that it might be made apparent to the world that the wrongs inflicted on them had come from evil counsellors rather than himself.[48]

[47] The "Justification" has been very commonly attributed to the pen of the learned Languet, who was much in William's confidence, and is known to have been with him at this time. But William was too practised a writer, as Groen well suggests, to make it probable that he would trust the composition of a paper of such moment to any hand but his own. It is very likely that he submitted his own draft to the revision of Languet, whose political sagacity he well understood. And this is the most that can be fairly inferred from Languet's own account of the matter: "Fui Dillemburgi per duodecim et tredecim dies, ubi Princeps Orangiæ mihi et aliquot aliis curavit prolixe explicari causas et initia tumultuum in inferiore Germania et suam responsionem ad accusationes Albani." It fared with the prince's "Justification" as it did with the famous "Farewell Address" of Washington, so often attributed to another pen than his, but which, however much it may have been benefited by the

The plan of the campaign was to distract the duke's attention, and, if possible, create a general rising in the country, by assailing it on three several points at once. A Huguenot corps, under an adventurer named Cocqueville, was to operate against Artois; Hoogstraten, with the lord of Villers, and others of the banished nobles, was to penetrate the country in a central direction, through Brabant; while William's brothers, the Counts Louis and Adolphus, at the head of a force partly Flemish, partly German, were to carry the war over the northern borders, into Groningen. The prince himself, who established his head-quarters in the neighborhood of Cleves, was busy in assembling a force prepared to support any one of the divisions, as occasion might require.

It was the latter part of April before Hoogstraten and Louis took the field. The Huguenots were still later; and William met with difficulties which greatly retarded the formation of his own corps. The great difficulty—one which threatened to defeat the enterprise at its commencement—was the want of money, equally felt in raising troops and in enforcing discipline among them when they were raised. "If you have any love for me," he writes to his friend, the "wise" landgrave of Hesse, "I beseech you to aid me privately with a

counsels and corrections of others, bears on every page unequivocal marks of its genuineness. The "Justification" called out several answers from the opposite party. Among them were two by Vargas and Del Rio. But in the judgment of Viglius—whose bias certainly did not lie on William's side—these answers were a failure. See his letter to Hopper (Epist. ad Hopperum, p. 458). The reader will find a full discussion of the matter by Groen, in the Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. iii. p. 187.

sum sufficient to meet the pay of the troops for the first month. Without this I shall be in danger of failing in my engagements,—to me worse than death; to say nothing of the ruin which such a failure must bring on our credit and on the cause." [48] We are constantly reminded, in the career of the prince of Orange, of the embarrassments under which our own Washington labored in the time of the Revolution, and of the patience and unconquerable spirit which enabled him to surmount them.

Little need be said of two of the expeditions, which were failures. Hoogstraten had scarcely crossed the frontier, towards the end of April, when he was met by Alva's trusty lieutenant, Sancho Davila, and beaten, with considerable loss. Villers and some others of the rebel lords, made prisoners, escaped the sword of the enemy in the field, to fall by that of the executioner in Brussels. Hoogstraten, with the remnant of his forces, made good his retreat, and effected a junction with the prince of Orange.[49]

Cocqueville met with a worse fate. A detachment of French troops was sent against him by Charles the Ninth, who thus requited the service of the same kind he had lately received from the duke of Alva. On the approach of their countrymen,

[48] "En quoy ne gist pas seulement le bien de ce faict, mais aussi mon honeur et réputation, pour avoir promis aus gens de guerre leur paier le dict mois, et que j'aymerois mieulx morir que les faillir à ma promesse." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, Supplément, p. 89.

[49] Mendoza, Comentarios, p. 42, et seq.—Cornejo, Disension de Flandes, p. 63.

the Huguenots basely laid down their arms. Cocqueville and his principal officers were surrounded, made prisoners, and perished ignominiously on the scaffold.[50]

The enterprise of Louis of Nassau was attended with different results. Yet after he had penetrated into Groningen he was sorely embarrassed by the mutinous spirit of the German mercenaries. The province was defended by Count Aremberg, its governor, a brave old officer, who had studied the art of war under Charles the Fifth; one of those models of chivalry on whom the men of a younger generation are ambitious to form themselves. He had been employed on many distinguished services, and there were few men at the court of Brussels who enjoyed higher consideration under both Philip and his father. The strength of his forces lay in his Spanish infantry. He was deficient in cavalry, but was soon to be reinforced by a body of horse under Count Megen, who was a day's march in his rear.

Aremberg soon came in sight of Louis, who was less troubled by the presence of his enemy than by the disorderly conduct of his German soldiers, clamorous for their pay. Doubtful of his men, Louis declined to give battle to a foe so far superior to him in everything but numbers. He accordingly established himself in an uncommonly strong position, which the nature of the ground fortunately afforded. In his rear, protected by a thick wood, stood the convent of Heyligerlee,

[50] Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 56.—De Thou, Hist. universelle, tom. v. p. 443.

which gave its name to the battle. In front the land sloped towards an extensive morass. His infantry, on the left, was partly screened by a hill from the enemy's fire; and on the right he stationed his cavalry, under the command of his brother Adolphus, who was to fall on the enemy's flank, should they be hardy enough to give battle.

But Aremberg was too well acquainted with the difficulties of the ground to risk an engagement, at least till he was strengthened by the reinforcement under Megen. Unfortunately, the Spanish infantry, accustomed to victory, and feeling a contempt for the disorderly levies opposed to them, loudly called to be led against the heretics. In vain their more prudent general persisted in his plan. They chafed at the delay, refusing to a Flemish commander the obedience which they might probably have paid to one of their own nation. They openly accused him of treachery, and of having an understanding with his countrymen in the enemy's camp. Stung by their reproaches, Aremberg had the imprudence to do what more than one brave man has been led to do, both before and since: he surrendered his own judgment to the importunities of his soldiers. Crying out that "they should soon see if he were a traitor," [51] he put himself at the head of his little army and marched against the enemy. His artillery, meanwhile, which he had posted on his

[51] "Ains, comme gens predestinez à leur malheur et de leur general, crierent plus que devant contre luy jusques à l'appeler traistre, et qu'il s'entendoit avec les ennemis. Luy, qui estoit tout noble et courageux, leur dit: 'Ouy, je vous monstreray si je le suis.'" Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. i. p. 382.

right, opened a brisk fire on Louis's left wing, where, owing to the nature of the ground, it did little execution.

Under cover of this fire the main body of the Spanish infantry moved forward; but, as their commander had foreseen, the men soon became entangled in the morass; their ranks were thrown into disorder; and when at length, after long and painful efforts, they emerged on the firm ground, they were more spent with toil than they would have been after a hard day's march. Thus jaded, and sadly in disarray, they were at once assailed in front by an enemy who, conscious of his own advantage, was all fresh and hot for action. Notwithstanding their distressed condition, Aremberg's soldiers maintained their ground for some time, like men unaccustomed to defeat. At length Louis ordered the cavalry on his right to charge Aremberg's flank. This unexpected movement, occurring at a critical moment, decided the day. Assailed in front and in flank, hemmed in by the fatal morass in the rear, the Spaniards were thrown into utter confusion. In vain their gallant leader, proof against danger, though not against the taunts of his followers, endeavored to rally them. His horse was killed under him; and, as he was mounting another, he received a shot from a foot-soldier, and fell mortally wounded from his saddle.[52] The rout now became general.

[52] Brantôme has given us the portrait of this Flemish nobleman, with whom he became acquainted on his visit to Paris, when sent thither by Alva to relieve the French monarch. The chivalrous old writer dwells on the personal appearance of Aremberg, his noble mien and high-bred courtesy, which made him a favorite with the

Some took to the morass, and fell into the hands of the victors. Some succeeded in cutting their way through the ranks of their assailants, while many more lost their lives in the attempt. The ground was covered with the wounded and the dead. The victory was complete.

Sixteen hundred of the enemy were left on that fatal field. In the imagination of the exile thirsting for vengeance, it might serve in some degree to balance the bloody roll of victims whom the pitiless duke had sent to their account. Nine pieces of artillery, with a large quantity of ammunition and military stores, a rich service of plate belonging to Aremberg, and a considerable sum of money lately received by him to pay the arrears of the soldiers, fell into the hands of the patriots. Yet as serious a loss as any inflicted on the Spaniards was that of their brave commander. His corpse, disfigured by wounds, was recognized amid a heap of the slain, by the insignia of the Golden Fleece, which he wore round his neck, and which Louis sent to the prince, his brother, as a proud trophy of his victory.[53] The joy of the conquerors was dimmed by one mournful event, the death of Count Adolphus of Nassau, who fell, bravely fighting, at the head of his troops, one of the first victims in the war of the revolution. He was a

dames of the royal circle: "Un tres beau et tres agreable seigneur, surtout de fort grande et haute taille et de tres belle apparence." (Œuvres, tom. i. p. 383.) Nor does he omit to mention, among other accomplishments, the fluency with which he could speak French and several other languages. Ibid., p. 384.

[53] See a letter written, as seems probable, by a councillor of William to the elector of Saxony, the week after the battle. Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. iii. p. 221.

younger brother of William, only twenty-seven years of age. But he had already given promise of those heroic qualities which proved him worthy of the generous race from which he sprang.[54]

The battle was fought on the twenty-third of May, 1568. On the day following, Count Megen arrived with a reinforcement,—too late to secure the victory, but not, as it proved, too late to snatch the fruits of it from the victors. By a rapid movement, he succeeded in throwing himself into the town of Groningen, and thus saved that important place from falling into the hands of the patriots.[55]

The tidings of the battle of Heyligerlee caused a great sensation through the country. While it raised the hopes of the malecontents, it filled the duke of Alva with indignation,—the greater, as he perceived that the loss of the battle was to be referred mainly to the misconduct of his own soldiers. He saw with alarm the disastrous effect

[54] It is a common report of historians that Adolphus and Aremberg met in single combat in the thick of the fight and fell by each other's hands. See Cornejo, Disension de Flandes, fol. 63; Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 282; *et al.* An incident so romantic found easy credit in a romantic age.

[55] The accounts of the battle of Heyligerlee, given somewhat confusedly, may be found in Herrera, Hist. del Mundo, tom. i. p. 688, et seq.,—Campana, Guerra di Fiandra (Vicenza, 1602), p. 42, et seq.,—Mendoza, Comentarios (Madrid, 1592), p. 43, et seq.,—Cornejo, Disension de Flandes, fol. 66, et seq.,—Carnero, Guerras de Flandes (Brusselas, 1625), p. 24, et seq.,—Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 382, et seq.,—Bentivoglio, Guerra di Fiandra, p. 192, et seq.—The last writer tells us he had heard the story more than once from the son and heir of the deceased Count Aremberg, who sorely lamented that his gallant father should have thrown away his life for a mistaken point of honor.—In addition to the above authorities, I regret it is not in my power to cite a volume published by M. Gachard since the present chapter was written. It contains the correspondence of Alva relating to the invasion by Louis.

likely to be produced by so brilliant a success on the part of the rebels in the very beginning of the struggle. The hardy men of Friesland would rise to assert their independence. The prince of Orange, with his German levies, would unite with his victorious brother, and, aided by the inhabitants, would be in condition to make formidable head against any force that Alva could muster. It was an important crisis, and called for prompt and decisive action. The duke, with his usual energy, determined to employ no agent here, but to take the affair into his own hands, concentrate his forces, and march in person against the enemy.

Yet there were some things he deemed necessary to be done, if it were only for their effect on the public mind, before entering on the campaign. On the twenty-eighth of May, sentence was passed on the prince of Orange, his brother Louis, and their noble companions. They were pronounced guilty of contumacy in not obeying the summons of the council, and of levying war against the king. For this they were condemned to perpetual banishment, and their estates confiscated to the use of the crown. The sentence was signed by the duke of Alva.[56] William's estates had been already sequestrated, and a body of Spanish troops was quartered in his town of Breda.

Another act, of a singular nature, intimated pretty clearly the dispositions of the government. The duke caused the Hotel de Culemborg, where he had fixed his own residence before the regent's

[56] Viglii Epist. ad Hopperum, p. 181.—The sentence of the prince of Orange may be found in the Sententien van Alba, p. 70.

departure, and where the Gueux had held their meetings on coming to Brussels, to be levelled with the ground. On the spot a marble column was raised, bearing on each side of the base the following inscription: "Here once stood the mansion of Florence Pallant,"—the name of the Count of Culemborg,—"now razed to the ground for the execrable conspiracy plotted therein against religion, the Roman Catholic Church, the king's majesty, and the country." [57] Alva by this act intended doubtless to proclaim to the world, not so much his detestation of the confederacy—that would have been superfluous—as his determination to show no mercy to those who had taken part in it. Indeed, in his letters, on more than one occasion, he speaks of the signers of the Compromise as men who had placed themselves beyond the pale of mercy.

But all these acts were only the prelude to the dismal tragedy which was soon to be performed. Nearly nine months had elapsed since the arrest of the Counts Egmont and Hoorne. During all this time they had remained prisoners of state, under a strong guard, in the castle of Ghent. Their prosecution had been conducted in a deliberate, and indeed dilatory, manner, which had nourished in their friends the hope of a favorable issue.

[57] Viglii Epist. ad Hopperum, p. 481.—Strada, de Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 373.—Vera y Figueroa, Vida de Alva, p. 101.—The Hotel de Culemborg, so memorable for its connection with the early meetings of the Gueux, had not been long in possession of Count Culemborg, who purchased it as late as 1556. It stood on the Place du Petit Sablon. See Reiffenberg, Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 363.

Alva now determined to bring the trial to a close, —to pass sentence of death on the two lords, and to carry it into execution before departing on his expedition.

It was in vain that some of his counsellors remonstrated on the impolicy, at a crisis like the present, of outraging the feelings of the nation, by whom Egmont, in particular, was so much beloved. In vain they suggested that the two nobles would serve as hostages for the good behavior of the people during his absence, since any tumult must only tend to precipitate the fate of the prisoners.[58] Whether it was that Alva distrusted the effect on his master of the importunities, from numerous quarters, in their behalf, or, what is far more likely, that he feared lest some popular rising, during his absence, might open the gates to his prisoners, he was determined to proceed at once to their execution. His appetite for vengeance may have been sharpened by mortification at the reverse his arms had lately experienced; and he may have felt that a blow like the present would be the most effectual to humble the arrogance of the nation.

There were some other prisoners, of less note, but of no little consideration, who remained to be disposed of. Their execution would prepare the public mind for the last scene of the drama. There were nineteen persons who, at this time, lay in confinement in the castle of Vilvoorde, a

[58] "His tamen Albanus facilè contemptis, quippe à diuternâ rerum experientiâ suspicax, et suopte ingenio ab aliorum consiliis, si ultrò præsertim offerrentur aversus." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 386.

fortress of great strength, two leagues distant from Brussels. They were chiefly men of rank, and for the most part members of the Union. For these latter, of course, there was no hope. Their trials were now concluded, and they were only awaiting their sentences. On the ominous twenty-eighth of May, a day on which the Council of Blood seems to have been uncommonly alert, they were all, without exception, condemned to be beheaded, and their estates were confiscated to the public use.

On the first of June they were brought to Brussels, having been escorted there by nine companies of Spanish infantry, were conducted to the great square in front of the Hotel de Ville, and, while the drums beat to prevent their last words from reaching the ears of the bystanders, their heads were struck off by the sword of the executioner. Eight of the number, who died in the Roman Catholic faith, were graciously allowed the rites of Christian burial. The heads of the remaining eleven were set upon poles, and their bodies left to rot upon the gibbet, like those of the vilest malefactors.[59]

[59] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 386.—Guerres civiles du Pays-Bas, p. 171.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 57.—The third volume of the Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau contains a report of this execution from an eye-witness, a courier of Alva, who left Brussels the day after the event and was intercepted on his route by the patriots. One may imagine the interest with which William and his friends listened to the recital of the tragedy, and how deep must have been their anxiety for the fate of their other friends,—Hoorne and Egmont in particular,—over whom the sword of the executioner hung by a thread. We may well credit the account of the consternation that reigned throughout Brussels: "Il affirme que c'estoit une chose de l'autre monde, le crys, lamentation

On the second of June ten or twelve more, some of them persons of distinction, perished on the scaffold, in the same square in Brussels. Among these was Villers, the companion of Hoogstraten in the ill-starred expedition to Brabant, in which he was made prisoner. Since his captivity he had made some disclosures respecting the measures of Orange and his party, which might have entitled him to the consideration of Alva. But he had signed the Compromise.

On the following day five other victims were led to execution within the walls of Vilvoorde, where they had been long confined. One of these has some interest for us, Casembrot, lord of Backerzeele, Egmont's confidential secretary. That unfortunate gentleman had been put to the rack more than once, to draw from him disclosures to the prejudice of Egmont. But his constancy proved stronger than the cruelty of his persecutors. He was now to close his sufferings by an ignominious death; so far fortunate, however, that it saved him from witnessing the fate of his beloved master.[60] Such were the gloomy scenes

et juste compassion qu'aviont tous ceux de la ville du dit Bruxelles, nobles et ignobles, pour ceste barbare tyrannie, mais que nonobstant, ce cestuy Nero d'Alve se vante en ferat le semblable de tous ceulx quy potra avoir en mains." p. 241.

[60] If we are to believe Bentivoglio, Backerzeele was torn asunder by horses: "Da quattro cavalli fu smembrato vivo in Brusselles il Casembrot già segretario dell' Agamonte." (Guerra di Fiandra, p. 200.) But Alva's character, hard and unscrupulous as he may have been in carrying out his designs, does not warrant the imputation of an act of such wanton cruelty as this. Happily, it is not justified by historic testimony; no notice of the fact being found in Strada, or Meteren, or the author of the Guerres civiles du Pays-Bas, not to add other writers of the time, who cannot certainly be charged with

which ushered in the great catastrophe of the fifth of June.

undue partiality to the Spaniards. If so atrocious a deed had been perpetrated, it would be passing strange that it should not have found a place in the catalogue of crimes imputed to Alva by the prince of Orange. See, in particular, his letter to Schwendi, written in an agony of grief and indignation, soon after he had learned the execution of his friends. Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. iii. p. 244.

CHAPTER IV

TRIALS OF EGMONT AND HOORNE

The Examination—Efforts in their Behalf—Specification of Charges —Sentence of Death—The Processes reviewed

1568

NINE months had now elapsed since the Counts Egmont and Hoorne had been immured within the strong citadel of Ghent. During their confinement they had met with even less indulgence than was commonly shown to prisoners of state. They were not allowed to take the air of the castle, and were debarred from all intercourse with the members of their families. The sequestration of their property at the time of their arrest had moreover reduced them to such extreme indigence that but for the care of their friends they would have wanted the common necessaries of life.[1]

During this period their enemies had not been idle. We have seen, at the time of the arrest of the two nobles, that their secretaries and their private papers had been also seized. "Backerzeele," writes the duke of Alva to Philip, "makes disclosures every day respecting his master, Count

[1] Bor, the old Dutch historian, contemporary with these events, says that "if it had not been for the countess-dowager, Hoorne's step-mother, that noble would actually have starved in prison from want of money to procure himself food!" Arend, Algemeene Geschiedenis des Vaderlands, D. ii. St. v. bl. 37.

Egmont. When he is put to the torture, wonders may be expected from him in this way!" [2] But all that the rack extorted from the unhappy man was some obscure intimation respecting a place in which Egmont had secreted a portion of his effects. After turning up the ground in every direction round the castle of Ghent, the Spaniards succeeded in disinterring eleven boxes filled with plate, and some caskets of jewels, and other precious articles,—all that now remained of Egmont's once splendid fortune.[3]

Meanwhile, commissioners were sent into the provinces placed under the rule of the two noblemen to collect information respecting their government. The burgomasters of the towns were closely questioned, and, where they showed reluctance, were compelled by menaces to answer. But what Alva chiefly relied on was the examination of the prisoners themselves.

On the twelfth of November, 1567, a commission, composed of Vargas, Del Rio, and the Secretary Pratz, proceeded to Ghent and began a personal examination of Egmont. The interrogatories covered the whole ground of the recent troubles. They were particularly directed to ascertain Egmont's relations with the reformed party, but, above all, his connection with the confederates,—the offence of deepest dye in the view of the commissioners. The examination continued through five days; and a record, signed and sworn

[2] "Ce dernier fait chaque jour des aveux, et on peut s'attendre qu'il dira des merveilles, lorsqu'il sera mis à la torture." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 589.

[3] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 247.

to by the several parties, furnished the basis of the future proceedings against the prisoner. A similar course was then taken in regard to Hoorne.[4]

In the meantime the friends of the two nobles were making active exertions in their behalf. Egmont, as we have already seen, was married to a German princess, Sabina, sister of the elector of Bavaria,—a lady who, from her rank, the charm of her manners, and her irreproachable character, was the most distinguished ornament of the court of Brussels. She was the mother of eleven children, the eldest of them still of tender age. Surrounded by this numerous and helpless family, thus suddenly reduced from affluence to miserable penury, the countess became the object of general commiseration. Even the stern heart of Alva seems to have been touched, as he notices her "lamentable situation," in one of his letters to Philip.[5]

The unhappy lady was fortunate in securing the services of Nicholas de Landas, one of the most eminent jurists of the country, and a personal friend of her husband. In her name, he addressed

[4] The *Interrogatoires*, filling nearly fifty octavo pages, were given to the public by the late Baron Reiffenberg, at the end of his valuable compilation of the correspondence of Margaret. Both the questions and answers, strange as it may seem, were originally drawn up in Castilian. A French version was immediately made by the Secretary Pratz,—probably for the benefit of the Flemish councillors of the bloody tribunal. Both the Castilian and French MSS. were preserved in the archives of the house of Egmont until the middle of the last century, when an unworthy heir of this ancient line suffered them to pass into other hands. They were afterwards purchased by the crown, and are now in a fitting place of deposit,—the archives of the kingdom of Holland. The MS. printed by Reiffenberg is in French.

[5] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 14.

letters to several of the German princes, and to the Emperor Maximilian, requesting their good offices in behalf of her lord. He also wrote both to Alva and the king, less to solicit the release of Egmont —a thing little to be expected—than to obtain the removal of the cause from the Council of Blood to a court consisting of the knights of the Golden Fleece. To this both Egmont and Hoorne had a good claim, as belonging to that order, the statutes of which, solemnly ratified by Philip himself, guaranteed to its members the right of being tried only by their peers. The frank and independent tone with which the Flemish jurist, himself also one of the order, and well skilled in the law, urged this claim on the Spanish monarch, reflects honor on his memory.

Hoorne's wife, also a German lady of high connections, and his step-mother, the countess-dowager, were unwearied in their exertions in his behalf. They wrote to the knights of the Golden Fleece, in whatever country residing, and obtained their written testimony to the inalienable right of the accused to be tried by his brethren.[6] This was obviously a point of the last importance, since a trial by the Council of Blood was itself equivalent to a condemnation.

Several of the electors, as well as other princes of the empire, addressed Philip directly on the subject, beseeching him to deal with the two nobles according to the statutes of the order. Maximilian wrote two letters to the same purpose; and, touching on the brilliant services of Egmont, he

[6] Supplément à Strada, tom. i. p. 244.

endeavored to excite the king's compassion for the desolate condition of the countess and her children.[7]

But it was not foreigners only who interceded in behalf of the lords. Mansfeldt, than whom Philip had not a more devoted subject in the Netherlands, implored his sovereign to act conformably to justice and reason in the matter.[8] Count Barlaimont, who on all occasions had proved himself no less stanch in his loyalty, found himself now in an embarrassing situation,—being both a knight of the order and a member of the Council of Troubles. He wrote accordingly to Philip, beseeching his majesty to relieve him from the necessity of either acting like a disloyal subject or of incurring the reproaches of his brethren.[9]

Still more worthy of notice is the interference of Cardinal Granvelle, who, forgetting his own disgrace, for which he had been indebted to Egmont perhaps as much as to any other person, now generously interceded in behalf of his ancient foe. He invoked the clemency of Philip, as more worthy of a great prince than rigor. He called to mind the former good deeds of the count, and declared, if he had since been led astray, the blame was chargeable on others rather than on himself.[10] But although the cardinal wrote more than once to the king in this strain, it was too late to efface

[7] Supplément à Strada, tom. i. p. 219.—Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 588.

[8] "La suppliant de prendre en cette affaire la détermination que la raison et l'équité réclament." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 607.

[9] Ibid., p. 614.

[10] Ibid., p. 599.

the impression made by former communications, in which he had accused his rival of being a party to the treasonable designs of the prince of Orange.[11] This impression had been deepened by the reports from time to time received from the regent, who at one period, as we have seen, withdrew her confidence altogether from Egmont. Thus the conviction of that nobleman's guilt was so firmly settled in the king's mind that when Alva received the government of the Netherlands there can be little doubt that Egmont was already marked out as the first great victim to expiate the sins of the nation. The arguments and entreaties, therefore, used on the present occasion to dissuade Philip from his purpose had no other effect than to quicken his movements. Anxious to rid himself of importunities so annoying, he ordered Alva to press forward the trial, adding, at the same time, that all should be made so clear that the world, whose eyes were now turned on these proceedings, might be satisfied of their justice.[12]

Before the end of December the attorney-general, Du Bois, had prepared the articles of accusation against Egmont. They amounted to no less than ninety, some of them of great length. They chiefly rested on evidence derived from the per-

[11] "Le Comte d'Egmont," said Granvelle, in a letter so recent as August 17th, 1567, "disait au prince que leurs menées étaient découvertes; que le Roi fasait des armements; qu'ils ne sauraient lui résister; qu'ainsi il leur fallait dissimuler, et s'accommoder le mieux possible, en attendant d'autres circonstances, pour réaliser leurs desseins." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 561.

[12] "Tout ce qui s'est passé doit être tiré au claire, pour qu'il soit bien constant que, dans une affaire sur laquelle le monde entier a les yeux fixés, le Roi et lui ont procédé avec justice." Ibid., p. 609.

sonal examination, sustained by information gathered from other quarters. The first article, which indeed may be said to have been the key to all the rest, charged Egmont with having conspired with William and the other banished lords to shake off the Spanish rule and divide the government among themselves. With this view he had made war on the faithful Granvelle, had sought to concentrate the powers of the various councils into one, had resisted the Inquisition, had urged the meeting of the states-general, in short, had thwarted, as far as possible, in every particular, the intentions of the king. He was accused, moreover, of giving encouragement to the sectaries. He had not only refused his aid when asked to repress their violence, but had repeatedly licensed their meetings and allowed them to celebrate their religious rites. Egmont was too stanch a Catholic to warrant his own faith being called into question. It was only in connection with the political movements of the country that he was supposed to have countenanced the party of religious reform. Lastly, he was charged not only with abetting the confederacy of the nobles, but with having, in conjunction with the prince of Orange and his associates, devised the original plan of it. It was proof of the good will he bore the league, that he had retained in his service more than one member of his household after they had subscribed the Compromise. On these various grounds, Egmont was declared to be guilty of treason.[13]

[13] This tedious instrument is given *in extenso* by Foppens, Supplément à Strada, tom. i. pp. 44–63.

The charges, which cover a great space, would seem at the first glance to be crudely put together, confounding things trivial, and even irrelevant to the question, with others of real moment.[14] Yet they must be admitted to have been so cunningly prepared as to leave an impression most unfavorable to the innocence of the prisoner. The attorney-general, sometimes audaciously perverting the answers of Egmont,[15] at other times giving an exaggerated importance to his occasional admissions, succeeded in spreading his meshes so artfully that it required no slight degree of coolness and circumspection, even in an innocent party, to escape from them.

The instrument was delivered to Egmont on the twenty-ninth of December. Five days only were allowed him to prepare his defence,—and that, too, without the aid of a friend to support or of counsel to advise him. He at first resolutely declined to make a defence at all, declaring that he was amenable to no tribunal but that of the members of the order. Being informed, however, that if he persisted he would be condemned for contumacy, he consented, though with a formal pro-

[14] Indeed, this seems to have been the opinion of the friends of the government. Councillor Belin writes to Granvelle, December 14th, 1567, "They have arrested Hoorne and Egmont, but in their accusations have not confined themselves to individual charges, but have accumulated a confused mass of things." Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 182.

[15] For example, see the thirty-eighth article, in which the attorney-general accuses Egmont of admitting, on his examination, that he had parted with one of his followers, suspected of heretical opinions, for a short time only, when, on the contrary, he had expressly stated that the dismissal was final, and that he had never seen the man since. Supplément à Strada, tom. i. p. 40.

test against the proceedings as illegal, to enter on his defence.

He indignantly disclaimed the idea of any design to subvert the existing government. He admitted the charges in regard to his treatment of Granvelle, and defended his conduct on the ground of expediency,—of its being demanded by the public interest. On the same ground he explained his course in reference to some of the other matters charged on him, and especially in relation to the sectaries,—too strong in numbers, he maintained, to be openly resisted. He positively denied the connection imputed to him with the confederates; declaring that, far from countenancing the league, he had always lamented its existence and discouraged all within his reach from joining it. In reply to the charge of not having dismissed Backerzeele after it was known that he had joined the confederates, he excused himself by alleging the good services which his secretary had rendered the government, more especially in repressing the disorders of the iconoclasts. On the whole, his answers seem to have been given in good faith, and convey the impression—probably not far from the truth—of one who, while he did not approve of the policy of the crown, and thought, indeed, some of its measures impracticable, had no design to overturn the government.[16]

The attorney-general next prepared his accusation of Count Hoorne, consisting of sixty-three

[16] Egmont's defence, of which extracts, wretchedly garbled, are given by Foppens, has been printed *in extenso* by M. de Bavay, in his useful compilation, Procès du Comte d'Egmont (Bruxelles, 1854), pp. 121–153.

separate charges. They were of much the same import with those brought against Egmont. The bold, impatient temper of the admiral made him particularly open to the assault of his enemies. He was still more peremptory than his friend in his refusal to relinquish his rights as a knight of the Golden Fleece and appear before the tribunal of Alva. When prevailed on to waive his scruples, his defence was couched in language so direct and manly as at once engages our confidence. "Unskilled as I am in this sort of business," he remarks, "and without the aid of council to guide me, if I have fallen into errors they must be imputed not to intention, but to the want of experience. . . . I can only beseech those who shall read my defence to believe that it has been made sincerely and in all truth, as becomes a gentleman of honorable descent." [17]

By the remonstrances of the prisoners and their friends, the duke was at length prevailed on to allow them council. Each of the two lords obtained the services of five of the most eminent jurists of the country,—who, to their credit, seem not to have shrunk from a duty which, if not attended with actual danger, cerainly did not lie in the road to preferment.[18]

[17] "Suppliant à tous ceux qui la verront, croire qu'il a respondu à tous les articles sincerement et en toute vérité comme un Gentilhomme bien né est tenu et obligé de faire." Supplément à Strada, tom. i. p. 209.

[18] Foppens has devoted nearly all the first volume of his "*Supplément*" to pieces illustrative of the proceedings against Egmont and Hoorne. The articles of accusation are given at length. His countrymen are under obligations to this compiler, who thus early brought before them so many documents of great importance to the national

The counsel of the two lords lost no time in preparing the defence of their clients, taking up each charge brought against them by the attorney-general, and minutely replying to it. Their defence was substantially the same with that which had been set up by the prisoners themselves, though more elaborate and sustained by a greater array both of facts and arguments.[19] Meanwhile, the counsel did not remit their efforts to have the causes brought before the tribunal of the *Toison d'Or*. Unless this could be effected, they felt that all endeavors to establish the innocence of their clients would be unavailing.

Alva had early foreseen the embarrassments to which he would be exposed on this ground. He had accordingly requested Philip to stop all further solicitations by making known his own decision in the matter.[20] The king, in reply, assured the duke that men of authority and learning, to whom the subject had been committed, after a full examination, entirely confirmed the decision made

history. The obligations would have been greater if the editor had done his work in a scholar-like way,—instead of heaping together a confused mass of materials, without method, often without dates, and with so little care that the titles of the documents are not seldom at variance with the contents.

[19] At least such is the account which Foppens gives of the "Justification," as it is termed, of Hoorne, of which the Flemish editor has printed only the preamble and the conclusion, without so much as favoring us with the date of the instrument. (Supplément à Strada, tom. i. pp. 241–243.) M. de Bavay, on the other hand, has given the defence set up by Egmont's counsel *in extenso*. It covers seventy printed pages, being double the quantity occupied by Egmont's defence of himself. By comparing the two together, it is easy to see how closely the former, though with greater amplification, is fashioned on the latter. Procès du Comte d'Egmont, pp. 153–223.

[20] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 582.

before Alva's departure, that the case of treason did not come within the cognizance of the *Toison d'Or*.[21] Letters patent accompanied this note, empowering the duke to try the cause.[22] With these credentials Alva now strove to silence, if not to satisfy, the counsel of the prisoners; and, by a formal decree, all further applications for transferring the cause from his own jurisdiction to that of the Golden Fleece were peremptorily forbidden.

Yet all were not to be thus silenced. Egmont's countess still continued unwearied in her efforts to excite a sympathy in her lord's behalf in all those who would be likely to have any influence with the government. Early in 1568 she again wrote to Philip, complaining that she had not been allowed so much as to see her husband. She implored the king to take her and her children as sureties for Egmont and permit him to be removed to one of his own houses. If that could not be, she begged that he might at least be allowed the air of the castle, lest, though innocent, his confinement might cost him his life. She alludes to her miserable condition, with her young and helpless family, and trusts in the king's goodness and justice that she

[21] "Quoique, avant le départ du duc, il ait été reconnu, dans les délibérations qui ont eu lieu à Madrid en sa présence, que cette prétention n'était pas fondée, le Roi, vu la gravité de l'affaire, a ordonné que quelques personnes d'autorité et de lettres se réunissent de nouveau, pour examiner la question.—Il communique au duc les considérations qui ont été approuvées dans cette junte, et qui confirment l'opinion précédemment émise." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 612.

[22] The letters patent were ante-dated as far back as April 15th, 1567, probably that they might not appear to have been got up for the nonce. Conf. Ibid., p. 528.

shall not be forced to seek a subsistence in Germany, from which country she had been brought to Flanders by his father the emperor.[23] The letter, says a chronicler of the time, was not to be read by any one without sincere commiseration for the writer.[24]

The German princes, at the same time, continued their intercessions with the king for both the nobles; and the duke of Bavaria, and the duke and duchess of Lorraine, earnestly invoked his clemency in their behalf. Philip, wearied by this importunity, but not wavering in his purpose, again called on Alva to press the trial to a conclusion.[25]

Towards the end of April, 1568, came that irruption across the borders by Hoogstraten and the other lords, described in the previous chapter. Alva, feeling probably that his own presence might be required to check the invaders, found an additional motive for bringing the trials to a decision.

[23] "J'espère en la bonté, clémence et justice de Votre Majesté qu'icelle ne voudra souffrir que je sorte vos pas, avec mes onze enfants, pour aller hors d'iceux chercher moyen de vivre, ayant été amenée par feu de bonne mémoire l'Empereur, votre père." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 5.

[24] "Haud facilè sine commiseratione legi à quoquam potest." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 387.—According to Alva's biographer, Ossorio, the appeal of the countess would *probably* have softened the heart of Philip, and inclined him to an "ill-timed clemency," had it not been for the remonstrance of Cardinal Espinosa, then predominant in the cabinet, who reminded the king that "clemency was a sin when the outrage was against religion." (Albæ Vita, p. 282.) To one acquainted with the character of Philip the "probability" of the historian may seem somewhat less than probable.

[25] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 18.

On the sixth of May, the attorney-general presented a remonstrance against the dilatory proceedings of Egmont's counsel, declaring that, although so many months had elapsed, they had neglected to bring forward their witnesses in support of their defence. He prayed that a day might be named for the termination of the process.[26]

In the latter part of May, news came of the battle won by Louis of Nassau in the north. That now became certain which had before been only probable,—that Alva must repair in person to the seat of war and assume the command of the army. There could be no further delay. On the first of June, a decree was published, declaring that the time allowed for the defence of the prisoners had expired, and that no evidence could henceforth be admitted.[27] The counsel for the accused loudly protested against a decision which cut them off from all means of establishing the innocence of their clients. They had abundant testimony at hand, they said, and had only waited until the government should have produced theirs. This was plausible, as it was in the regular course for the prosecuting party to take precedence. But one can hardly doubt that the wary lawyers knew that too little was to be expected from a tribunal like the Council of Blood to wish to have the case

[26] Supplément à Strada, tom. i. p. 90.

[27] Ibid., tom. i. p. 252.—By a decree passed on the eighteenth of May, Egmont had been already excluded from any further right to bring evidence in his defence. The documents connected with this matter are given by Foppens, Ibid., tom. i. pp. 90–103.

brought to a decision. By delaying matters, some circumstance might occur—perhaps some stronger expression of the public sentiment—to work a favorable change in the mind of the king. Poor as it was, this was the only chance for safety; and every day that the decision was postponed was a day gained to their clients.

But no time was given for expostulation. On the day on which Alva's decree was published, the affair was submitted to the decision of the Council of Blood; and on the following morning, the second of June, that body—or rather Vargas and Del Rio, the only members who had a voice in the matter—pronounced both the prisoners guilty of treason, and doomed them to death. The sentence was approved by Alva.

On the evening of the fourth, Alva went in person to the meeting of the council. The sentences of the two lords, each under a sealed envelope, were produced, and read aloud by the secretary. They were both of precisely the same import. After the usual preamble, they pronounced the Counts Egmont and Hoorne to have been proved parties to the abominable league and conspiracy of the prince of Orange and his associates; to have given aid and protection to the confederates; and to have committed sundry malpractices in their respective governments in regard to the sectaries, to the prejudice of the holy Catholic faith. On these grounds they were adjudged guilty of treason and rebellion, and were sentenced accordingly to be beheaded with the sword, their heads to be set upon poles and there to continue

during the pleasure of the duke; their possessions, fiefs, and rights, of every description, to be confiscated to the use of the crown.[28] These sentences were signed only with the name of Alva, and countersigned with that of the Secretary Pratz.[29]

Such was the result of these famous trials, which, from the peculiar circumstances that attended them, especially their extraordinary duration and the illustrious characters and rank of the accused, became an object of general interest throughout Europe. In reviewing them, the first question that occurs is in regard to the validity of the grounds on which the causes were removed from the jurisdiction of the *Toison d'Or*. The decision of the "men of authority and learning" referred to by the king is of little moment, considering the influences under which such a decision in the court of Madrid was necessarily given. The only authority of any weight in favor of this interpretation seems to have been that of the President Viglius; a man well versed in the law, with the statutes of the order before him, and, in short, with every facility at his command for forming an accurate judgment in the matter.

[28] Among the documents analyzed by Gachard is one exhibiting the revenues of the great lords of the Low Countries whose estates were confiscated. No one except the prince of Orange had an income nearly so great as that of Egmont, amounting to 63,000 florins. He had a palace at Brussels, and other residences at Mechlin, Ghent, Bruges, Arras, and the Hague. The revenues of Count Hoorne amounted to about 8500 florins. Count Culemborg, whose hotel was the place of rendezvous for the Gueux, had a yearly income exceeding 31,000 florins. William's revenues, far greater than either, rose above 152,000. Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 116.

[29] Supplément à Strada, tom. i. pp. 252–257.

His opinion seems to have mainly rested on the fact that in the year 1473 a knight of the order, charged with a capital crime, submitted to be tried by the ordinary courts of law. But, on the other hand, some years later, in 1490, four knights accused of treason, the precise crime alleged against Egmont and Hoorne, were arraigned and tried before the members of the *Toison*. A more conclusive argument against Viglius was afforded by the fact that in 1531 a law was passed, under the emperor Charles the Fifth, that no knight of the Golden Fleece could be arrested or tried, for any offence whatever, by any other body than the members of his own order. This statute was solemnly confirmed by Philip himself in 1550; and no law, surely, could be devised covering more effectually the whole ground in question. Yet Viglius had the effrontery to set this aside as of no force, being so clearly in contempt of all precedents and statutes. A subterfuge like this, which might justify the disregard of any law whatever, found no favor with the members of the order. Aerschot and Barlaimont, in particular, the most devoted adherents of the crown, and among the few knights of the *Toison* then in Brussels, openly expressed their dissent. The authority of a jurist like Viglius was of great moment, however, to the duke, who did not fail to parade it.[30] But sorely was it to the disgrace of that timid and time-serving councillor

[30] In a letter dated January 6th, 1568, Alva tells the king that Viglius, after examining into the affair, finds the evidence so clear on the point that nothing more could be desired. Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 4.

that he could thus lend himself, and in such a cause, to become the tool of arbitrary power. It may well lead us to give easier faith than we should otherwise have done to those charges of peculation and meanness which the regent, in the heat of party dissensions, so liberally heaped on him.[31]

But, whatever may be thought of the rights possessed by the *Toison d'Or* in this matter, there can be no doubt as to the illegality of the court before which the cause was brought,—a court which had no warrant for its existence but the will of Alva; where the judges, contrary to the law of the land, were foreigners; where the presiding officer was not even necessarily present at the trial of the causes on which he alone was to pass sentence.

If so little regard was paid to the law in the composition of this tribunal, scarcely more was shown to it in the forms of proceeding. On the present occasion it does not appear that any evidence was brought forward by the prisoners. And as we are in possession of only a small part of that which sustained the prosecution, it is not easy to form an opinion how far the parties were or were not guilty of the crime imputed to them,—still less

[31] For the facts connected with the constitution of the *Toison d'Or*, I am indebted to a Dutch work now in course of publication in Amsterdam (Algemeene Geschiedenis des Vaderlands, van de vroegste tijden tot op heden, door Dr. J. P. Arend). This work, which is designed to cover the whole history of the Netherlands, may claim the merits of a thoroughness rare in this age of rapid book-making, and of a candor rare in any age. In my own ignorance of the Dutch, I must acknowledge my obligations to a friend for enabling me to read it. I must further add that for the loan of the work I am indebted to the courtesy of B. Homer Dixon, Esq., Consul for the Netherlands in Boston.

whether that crime, according to the laws of the land, amounted to treason.[32] The gravest charge made, with any apparent foundation, was that of a secret understanding with the confederates. The avowed object of the confederates was, in certain contingencies, to resist the execution of a particular ordinance,[33] but without any design to overturn the government. This, by our law, could hardly be construed into treason. But in the Netherlands, in the time of the Spanish rule, the law may have been more comprehensive in its import; nor is it likely the the word "treason" was limited in so explicit a manner as by the English statute-book under the Plantagenets.[34]

We have information of a curious document of the time, that may throw light on the matter.

[32] M. de Bavay has devoted seventy pages or more of his publication to affidavits of witnesses in behalf of the prosecution. (Procès du Comte d'Egmont, pp. 267–322.) But their testimony bears almost exclusively on the subject of Egmont's dealings with the sectaries,—scarcely warranting the Flemish editor's assertion in his preface, that he has been able to furnish "all the elements of the conviction of the accused by the duke of Alva."—M. de Bavay's work is one of the good fruits of that patriotic zeal which animates the Belgian scholars of our time for the illustration of their national history. It was given to the public only the last year, after the present chapter had been written. In addition to what is contained in former publications, it furnishes us with complete copies of the defence of Egmont, as prepared both by himself and his counsel, and with the affidavits above noticed of witnesses on the part of the government. It has supplied me, therefore, with valuable materials, whether for the correction or the corroboration of my previous conclusions.

[33] The resistance to which those who signed the Compromise were pledged was to the Inquisition, in case of its attempt to arrest any member of their body. *Ante*, vol. ii. p. 205.

[34] By the famous statute, in particular, of Edward the Third, the basis of all subsequent legislation on the subject. Some reflections, both on this law and the laws which subsequently modified it, made with the usual acuteness of their author, may be found in the fifteenth chapter of Hallam's Constitutional History of England.

Peter d'Arset, president of Artois, was one of the original members of the Council of Troubles, but had retired from office before the trial of the two lords. It may have been from the high judicial station he held in one of Egmont's provinces, that he was consulted in regard to that nobleman's process. After an examination of the papers, he returned an answer, written in Latin, at great length, and with a purity of style that shows him to have been a scholar. In this, he goes over the whole ground of the accusation, article by article, showing the insufficiency of proof on every charge, and by argument and legal reference fully establishing the innocence of the accused. The president's opinion, so independently given, we may readily believe, found too little favor with the duke of Alva to be cited as authority.[35]

But even though it were true that the two lords, in that season of public excitement, had been seduced from their allegiance for a time, some charity might have been shown to men who had subsequently broken with their former friends and displayed the utmost zeal in carrying out the measures of the government; a zeal in the case of Egmont, at least, which drew from the regent unqualified commendation.[36] Something more

[35] The original document is to be found in the archives of Brussels, or was in the time of Vandervynckt, who, having examinèd it carefully, gives a brief notice of it. (Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. pp. 256, 257.) The name of its author should be cherished by the historian, as that of a magistrate who, in the face of a tyrannical government, had the courage to enter his protest against the judicial murders perpetrated under its sanction.

[36] Among other passages, see one in a letter of Margaret to the king, dated March 23d, 1567: "Ceulx de son conseil icy, qui s'em-

might have been conceded to the man who had won for his sovereign the most glorious trophies of his reign. But Philip's nature, unhappily, as I have had occasion to notice, was of that sort which is more sensible to injuries than to benefits.

Under the circumstances attending this trial, it may seem to have been a waste of time to inquire into the legality of the court which tried the cause, or the regularity of the forms of procedure. The real trial took place, not in Flanders, but in Castile. Who can doubt that, long before the duke of Alva began his march, the doom of the two nobles had been pronounced in the cabinet of Madrid? [37]

ployent tout fidèlement et diligemment en son service, et entre aultres le comte d'Egmont dont je ne puis avoir synon bon contentement." Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 235.

[37] M. de Gerlache, in a long note to the second edition of his history, enters into a scrutiny of Egmont's conduct as severe as that by the attorney-general himself,—and with much the same result. (Hist. du Royaume des Pays-Bas, tom. i. pp. 99–101.) "Can any one believe," he asks, "that if, instead of having the 'Demon of the South' for his master, it had been Charles the Fifth or Napoleon, Egmont would have been allowed to play the part he did with impunity so long?" This kind of Socratic argument, as far as it goes, proves only that Philip did no worse than Charles or Napoleon would have done. It by no means proves Egmont to have deserved his sentence.

CHAPTER V

EXECUTION OF EGMONT AND HOORNE

The Counts removed to Brussels—Informed of the Sentence—Procession to the Scaffold—The Execution—Character of Egmont—Fate of his Family—Sentiment of the People

1568

ON the second of June, 1568, a body of three thousand men was ordered to Ghent to escort the Counts Egmont and Hoorne to Brussels. No resistance was offered, although the presence of the Spaniards caused a great sensation among the inhabitants of the place, who too well foreboded the fate of their beloved lord.

The nobles, each accompanied by two officers, were put into separate chariots. They were guarded by twenty companies of pikemen and arquebusiers; and a detachment of lancers, among whom was a body of the duke's own horse, rode in the van, while another of equal strength protected the rear. Under this strong escort they moved slowly towards Brussels. One night they halted at Dendermonde, and towards evening, on the fourth of the month, entered the capital.[1] As the martial array defiled through its streets, there was no one, however stout-hearted he might be, says an eye-witness, who could behold the funeral

[1] Relacion de la Justicia que se hizo de los Contes Agamont y Orne, MS.

pomp of the procession, and listen to the strains of melancholy music, without a feeling of sickness at his heart.[2]

The prisoners were at once conducted to the *Brodhuys*, or "Bread-house," usually known as the *Maison du Roi*,—that venerable pile in the market-place of Brussels, still visited by every traveller for its curious architecture, and yet more as the last resting-place of the Flemish lords. Here they were lodged in separate rooms, small, dark, and uncomfortable, and scantily provided with furniture. Nearly the whole of the force which had escorted them to Brussels was established in the great square, to defeat any attempt at a rescue. But none was made; and the night passed away without disturbance, except what was occasioned by the sound of busy workmen employed in constructing a scaffold for the scene of execution on the following day.[3]

On the afternoon of the fourth, the duke of Alva had sent for Martin Rithovius, bishop of Ypres; and, communicating to him the sentence of the nobles, he requested the prelate to visit the prisoners, acquaint them with their fate, and prepare them for their execution on the following day. The bishop, an excellent man, and the personal friend of Egmont, was astounded by the

[2] "Marcharent dans la ville en bataille, et avecques une batterie de tambourins et de phiffres si pitieuse qu'il n'y avoit spectateur de si bon cœur qui ne palist et ne pleurast d'une si triste pompe funebre." Mondoucet, ap Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. i. p. 363.

[3] De Thou, Histoire universelle, tom. v. p. 450.—Guerres civiles du Pays-Bas, p. 172.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 57.—Relacion de la Justicia que se hizo de los Contes Agamont y Orne, MS.

tidings. He threw himself at Alva's feet, imploring mercy for the prisoners, and, if he could not spare their lives, beseeching him at least to grant them more time for preparation. But Alva sternly rebuked the prelate, saying that he had been summoned, not to thwart the execution of the law, but to console the prisoners and enable them to die like Christians.[4] The bishop, finding his entreaties useless, rose and addressed himself to his melancholy mission.

It was near midnight when he entered Egmont's apartment, where he found the poor nobleman, whose strength had been already reduced by confinement, and who was wearied by the fatigue of the journey, buried in slumber. It is said that the two lords, when summoned to Brussels, had indulged the vain hope that it was to inform them of the conclusion of their trial and their acquittal![5] However this may be, Egmont seems to have been but ill prepared for the dreadful tidings he received. He turned deadly pale as he listened to the bishop, and exclaimed, with deep emotion, "It is a terrible sentence. Little did I imagine that any offence I had committed against God or the king could merit such a punishment. It is not death that I fear. Death is the common lot of all. But I shrink from dishonor. Yet I may hope

[4] "Sur quoy le Duc lui repondit fort vivement et avec une espece de colere, qu'il ne l'avoit pas fait venir à Brusselle pour mettre quelque empechement à l'execution de leur sentence, mais bien pour les consoler et les assister à mourir chretiennement." Supplément à Strada, tom. i. p. 259.

[5] "Venian en alguna manera contentos de pensar que sus causas andaban al cabo, y que havian de salir presto y bien despachados este dia." Relacion de la Justicia, MS.

that my sufferings will so far expiate my offences that my innocent family will not be involved in my ruin by the confiscation of my property. Thus much, at least, I think I may claim in consideration of my past services." Then, after a pause, he added, "Since my death is the will of God and his majesty, I will try to meet it with patience." [6] He asked the bishop if there were no hope. On being answered, "None whatever," he resolved to devote himself at once to preparing for the solemn change.

He rose from his couch, and hastily dressed himself. He then made his confession to the prelate, and desired that mass might be said, and the sacrament administered to him. This was done with great solemnity, and Egmont received the communion in the most devout manner, manifesting the greatest contrition for his sins. He next inquired of the bishop to what prayer he could best have recourse to sustain him in this trying hour. The prelate recommended to him that prayer which our Saviour had commended to his disciples. The advice pleased the count, who earnestly engaged in his devotions. But a host of tender recollections

[6] "Voicy une Sentence bien rigoureuse, je ne pense pas d'avoir tant offencé Sa Majesté, pour meriter un tel traittement; neanmoins je le prens en patience et prie le Seigneur, que ma mort soit une expiation de mes pechés, et que par là, ma chere Femme et mes Enfans n'encourent aucun blame, ny confiscation. Car mes services passez meritent bien qu'on me fasse cette grace. Puis qu'il plait à Dieu et au Roy, j'accepte la mort avec patience." Supplément à Strada, tom. i. p. 259.—These remarks of Egmont are also given, with very little discrepancy, by Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 56; in the Relacion de la Justicia que se hizo de los Contes Agamont y Orne, MS.; and in the relation of Mondoucet, ap. Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. i. p. 364.

crowded on his mind, and the images of his wife and children drew his thoughts in another direction, till the kind expostulations of the prelate again restored him to himself.

Egmont asked whether it would be well to say anything on the scaffold for the edification of the people. But the bishop discouraged him, saying that he would be imperfectly heard, and that the people, in their present excitement, would be apt to misinterpret what he said to their own prejudice.

Having attended to his spiritual concerns, Egmont called for writing-materials, and wrote a letter to his wife, whom he had not seen during his long confinement; and to her he now bade a tender farewell. He then addressed another letter, written in French, in a few brief and touching sentences, to the king,—which fortunately has been preserved to us. "This morning," he says, "I have been made acquainted with the sentence which it has pleased your majesty to pass upon me. And although it has never been my intent to do aught against the person or the service of your majesty, or against our true, ancient, and Catholic faith, yet I receive in patience what it has pleased God to send me.[7] If during these troubles I have counselled or permitted aught which might seem otherwise, I have done so from a sincere regard for the service of God and your majesty, and from what I believe the necessity of

[7] "Et combien que jamais mon intention n'ait esté de riens traicter, ni faire contre la Personne, ni le service de Vostre Majesté, ne contre nostre vraye, ancienne, et catholicque Religion, si est-ce que je prens en patience, ce qu'il plaist a mon bon Dieu de m'envoyer." Supplément à Strada, tom. i. p. 261.

the times. Wherefore I pray your majesty to pardon it, and for the sake of my past services to take pity on my poor wife, my children, and my servants. In this trust, I commend myself to the mercy of God." The letter is dated Brussels, " on the point of death," June 5th, 1568.[8]

Having time still left, the count made a fair copy of the two letters, and gave them to the bishop, entreating him to deliver them according to their destination. He accompanied that to Philip with a ring, to be given at the same time to the monarch.[9] It was of great value, and, as it had been the gift of Philip himself during the count's late visit to Madrid, it might soften the heart of the king by reminding him of happier days, when he had looked with an eye of favor on his unhappy vassal.

Having completed all his arrangements, Egmont became impatient for the hour of his departure; and he expressed the hope that there would be no unnecessary delay.[10] At ten in the morning the soldiers appeared who were to conduct him to the scaffold. They brought with them cords, as usual, to bind the prisoner's hands. But

[8] " Parquoy, je prie à Vostre Majesté me le pardonner, et avoir pitié de ma pauvre femme, enfans et serviteurs, vous souvenant de mes services passez. Et sur cest espoir m'en vois me recommander à la misericorde de Dieu. De Bruxelles prest à mourir, ce 5 de Juing 1568." Supplemént à Strada, ubi supra.

[9] " Et luy donna une bague fort riche que le roy d'Espaigne luy avoit donné lors qu'il fut en Espaigne, en signe d'amitié, pour la luy envoyer et faire tenir." Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. i. p. 361.

[10] " En apres, le comte d'Aiguemont commença à soliciter fort l'advancement de sa mort, disant que puis qu'il devoit mourir qu'on ne le devoit tenir si longuement en ce travail." Mondoucet, Ibid., p. 366.

Egmont remonstrated, and showed that he had, himself, cut off the collar of his doublet and shirt, in order to facilitate the stroke of the executioner. This he did to convince them that he meditated no resistance; and on his promising that he would attempt none, they consented to his remaining with his hands unbound.

Egmont was dressed in a crimson damask robe, over which was a Spanish mantle fringed with gold. His breeches were of black silk, and his hat, of the same material, was garnished with white and sable plumes.[11] In his hand, which, as we have seen, remained free, he held a white handkerchief. On his way to the place of execution he was accompanied by Julian de Romero, *maître de camp*, by the captain, Salinas, who had charge of the fortress of Ghent, and by the bishop of Ypres. As the procession moved slowly forward, the count repeated some portion of the fifty-first Psalm,—"Have mercy on me, O God!"—in which the good prelate joined with him. In the centre of the square, on the spot where so much of the best blood of the Netherlands has been shed, stood the scaffold, covered with black cloth.

[11] "Il estoit vestu d'une juppe * de damas cramoisy, et d'un manteau noir avec du passement d'or, les chausses de taffetas noir et le bas de chamois bronzé, son chapeau de taffetas noir couvert de force plumes blanches et noires." Mondoucet, ap. Brantôme, Œuvres, ubi supra.

* [The "juppe" (*jupon, giubbone*, doublet) was a tight-fitting garment, suitably covered with a mantle or other outer garment when the wearer went abroad. A crimson robe was, however, the costume of the *Toison d'Or*, which, with the collar, Egmont is stated by some writers to have worn on the scaffold, removing them before his decapitation.—K.]

On it were two velvet cushions with a small table, shrouded likewise in black, and supporting a silver crucifix. At the corners of the platform were two poles, pointed at the end with steel, intimating the purpose for which they were intended.[12]

In front of the scaffold was the provost of the court, mounted on horseback, and bearing the red wand of office in his hand.[13] The executioner remained, as usual, below the platform, screened from view, that he might not, by his presence before it was necessary, outrage the feelings of the prisoners.[14] The troops, who had been under arms all night, were drawn up around in order of battle; and strong bodies of arquebusiers were posted in the great avenues which led to the square. The space left open by the soldiery was speedily occupied by a crowd of eager spectators. Others thronged the roofs and windows of the buildings that surrounded the market-place, some of which, still standing at the present day, show, by their

[12] Ossorio, Albæ Vita, p. 287.—Guerres civiles du Pays-Bas, p. 177. —Relacion de la Justicia, MS.

[13] This personage, whose name was Spel, met with no better fate than that of the victims whose execution he now superintended. Not long after this he was sentenced to the gallows by the duke, to the great satisfaction of the people, as Strada tells us, for the manifold crimes he had committed. De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 387.

[14] The executioner was said to have been formerly one of Egmont's servants: "El verdugo, que hasta aquel tiempo no se havia dejado ver, por que en la forma de morir se le tuvo este respeto, hizo su oficio con gran presteza, al qual havia hecho dar aquel maldito oficio el dicho Conde, y dicen aver sido lacayo suyo." Relacion de la Justicia, MS.—This *relacion* forms part of a curious compilation in MS., entitled "Cartas y Papeles varios," in the British Museum. The compiler is supposed to have been Pedro de Gante, secretary of the duke of Najera, who amused himself with transcribing various curious "relations" of the time of Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second.

quaint and venerable architecture, that they must have looked down on the tragic scene we are now depicting.

It was indeed a glomy day for Brussels,—so long the residence of the two nobles, where their forms were as familiar and where they were held in as much love and honor as in any of their own provinces. All business was suspended. The shops were closed. The bells tolled in all the churches. An air of gloom, as of some impending calamity, settled on the city. "It seemed," says one residing there at the time, "as if the day of judgment were at hand!" [15]

As the procession slowly passed through the ranks of the soldiers, Egmont saluted the officers —some of them his ancient companions—with such a sweet and dignified composure in his manner as was long remembered by those who saw it. And few even of the Spaniards could refrain from tears as they took their last look at the gallant noble who was to perish by so miserable an end.[16]

With a steady step he mounted the scaffold, and, as he crossed it, gave utterance to the vain wish that, instead of meeting such a fate, he had been allowed to die in the service of his king and country.[17] He quickly, however, turned to other thoughts, and, kneeling on one of the cushions,

[15] "Todas las boticas se cerraron, y doblaron por ellos todo el dia las campanas de las Yglesias, que no parecia otra cosa si no dia de juicio." Relacion de la Justicia, MS.

[16] "Lesquelz pleuroient et regrettoient de voir un si grand capitaine mourir ainsi." Mondoucet, ap. Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. i. p. 267.

[17] "Il se pourmena quelque peu, souhaytant de pouvoir finir sa vie au service de son Prince et du pais." Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 58.

with the bishop beside him on the other, he was soon engaged earnestly in prayer. With his eyes raised towards heaven with a look of unutterable sadness,[18] he prayed so fervently and loud as to be distinctly heard by the spectators. The prelate, much affected, put into his hands the silver crucifix, which Egmont repeatedly kissed; after which, having received absolution for the last time, he rose and made a sign to the bishop to retire. He then stripped off his mantle and robe; and, again kneeling, he drew a silk cap, which he had brought for the purpose, over his eyes, and, repeating the words, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," he calmly awaited the stroke of the executioner.

The low sounds of lamentation which from time to time had been heard among the populace were now hushed into silence,[19] as the minister of justice, appearing on the platform, approached his victim and with a single blow of the sword severed the head from the body. A cry of horror rose from the multitude, and some, frantic with grief, broke through the ranks of the soldiers, and wildly dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood that streamed from the scaffold, treasuring them up, says the chronicler, as precious memorials of love and incitements to vengeance.[20] The head

[18] "Alzó los ojos al cielo por un poco espacio con un semblante tan doloroso, como se puede pensar le tenia en aquel transito un hombre tan discreto." Relacion de la Justicia, MS.

[19] "En gran silencio, con notable lastima, sin que por un buen espacio se sintiese rumor ninguno." Ibid.

[20] "Fuere, qui linteola, contempto periculo, Egmontii cruore consperserint, servaverintque, seu monumentum amoris, seu vindictæ irritamentum." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 394.

was then set on one of the poles at the end of the platform, while a mantle thrown over the mutilated trunk hid it from the public gaze.[21]

It was near noon when orders were sent to lead forth the remaining prisoner to execution. It had been assigned to the curate of La Chapelle to acquaint Count Hoorne with his fate. That nobleman received the awful tidings with less patience than was shown by his friend. He gave way to a burst of indignation at the cruelty and injustice of the sentence. It was a poor requital, he said, for eight-and-twenty years of faithful service to his sovereign. Yet, he added, he was not sorry to be released from a life of such incessant fatigue.[22] For some time he refused to confess, saying he had done enough in the way of confession.[23] When urged not to throw away the few precious moments that were left to him, he at length consented.

The count was dressed in a plain suit of black, and wore a Milanese cap upon his head. He was,

[21] Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 58.—Guerres civiles du Pays-Bas, p. 177.—Relacion de la Justicia, MS.—M. de Bavay has published a letter from one of the bishop of Ypres's household, giving an account of the last hours of Egmont, and written immediately after his death. (Procès du Comte d'Egmont, pp. 232–234.) The statements in the letter entirely corroborate those made in the text. Indeed, they are so nearly identical with those given by Foppens in the Supplément à Strada, that we can hardly doubt that the writer of the one narrative had access to the other.

[22] "Que avia servido á su magestad veinte y ocho años y no pensaba tener merecido tal payo, pero que se consolaba que con dar su cuerpo á la tierra, saldria de los continuos trauajos en que havia vivido." Relacion de la Justicia, MS.

[23] "Se despita, maugreant et regrettant fort sa mort, et se trouva quelque peu opiniastre en la confession, la regrettant fort, disant qu'il estoit assez confessé." Mondoucet, ap. Brantôme, tom. i. p. 365.

at this time, about fifty years of age. He was tall, with handsome features, and altogether of a commanding presence.[24] His form was erect, and as he passed with a steady step through the files of soldiers, on his way to the place of execution, he frankly saluted those of his acquaintance whom he saw among the spectators. His look had in it less of sorrow than of indignation, like that of one conscious of enduring wrong. He was spared one pang, in his last hour, which had filled Egmont's cup with bitterness: though, like him, he had a wife, he was to leave no orphan family to mourn him.

As he trod the scaffold, the apparatus of death seemed to have no power to move him. He still repeated the declaration that, "often as he had offended his Maker, he had never, to his knowledge, committed any offence against the king." When his eyes fell on the bloody shroud that enveloped the remains of Egmont, he inquired if it were the body of his friend. Being answered in the affirmative, he made some remark in Castilian, not understood. He then prayed for a few moments, but in so low a tone that the words were not caught by the by-standers, and, rising, he asked pardon of those around if he had ever offended any of them, and earnestly besought their prayers. Then, without further delay, he knelt down, and, repeating the words "*In manus tuas, Domine*," he submitted himself to his fate.[25]

[24] "Il étoit agé environ cinquante ans, et étoit d'une grande et belle taille, et d'une phisionomie revenante." Supplément à Strada, tom. i. p. 264.

[25] "The death of this man," says Strada, "would have been immoderately mourned, had not all tears been exhausted by sorrow for

His bloody head was set up opposite to that of his fellow-sufferer. For three hours these ghastly trophies remained exposed to the gaze of the multitude. They were then taken down, and, with the bodies, placed in leaden coffins, which were straightway removed,—that containing the remains of Egmont to the convent of Santa Clara, and that of Hoorne to the ancient church of Ste. Gudule. To these places, especially to Santa Clara, the people now flocked, as to the shrine of a martyr. They threw themselves on the coffin, kissing it and bedewing it with their tears, as if it had contained the relics of some murdered saint;[26] while many of them, taking little heed of the presence of informers, breathed vows of vengeance, some even swearing not to trim either hair or beard till these vows were executed.[27] The government seems to have thought it prudent to take no notice of this burst of popular feeling. But a funeral hatchment, blazoned with the arms of Egmont, which, as usual after the master's death, had been fixed by his domestics on the gates of his mansion, was ordered to be instantly removed,—no doubt, as tending to keep alive the

Egmont." De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 396.—For the account of Hoorne's last moments, see Relacion de la Justicia, MS.; Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 58; Supplément à Strada, tom. i. pp. 265, 266; Mondoucet, ap. Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. i. p. 367; De Thou, Hist. universelle, tom. i. p. 451; Ossorio, Albæ Vita, p. 287.

[26] "Plusieurs allarent à l'église Saincte Claire où gisoit son corp, baisant le cercueil avec grande effusion de larmes, comme si ce fust esté les saincts ossemens et reliques de quelque sainct." Mondoucet, ap. Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. i. p. 367.

[27] Arend, Algemeene Geschiedenis des Vaderlands, D. ii. St. v. bl. 66.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 395.

popular excitement.[28] The bodies were not allowed to remain long in their temporary places of deposit, but were transported to the family residences of the two lords in the country, and laid in the vaults of their ancestors.[29]

Thus by the hand of the common executioner perished these two unfortunate noblemen, who, by their rank, possessions, and personal characters, were the most illustrious victims that could have been selected in the Netherlands. Both had early enjoyed the favor of Charles the Fifth, and both had been intrusted by Philip with some of the highest offices in the state. Philip de Montmorency, Count Hoorne, the elder of the two, came of the ancient house of Montmorency in France. Besides filling the high post of Admiral of the Low Countries, he was made governor of the provinces of Gueldres and Zutphen, was a councillor of state, and was created by the emperor a knight of the Golden Fleece. His fortune was greatly inferior to that of Count Egmont; yet its confiscation afforded a supply by no means unwelcome to the needy exchequer of the duke of Alva.

However nearly on a footing they might be in many respects, Hoorne was altogether eclipsed by

[28] "Les gens du comte d'Aiguemont plantèrent ses armes et enseignes de deuil à sa porte du palais; mais le duc d'Albe en estant adverty, les en fit bien oster bientost et emporter dehors." Mondoucet, ap. Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. i. p. 367.

[29] Mondoucet, the French ambassador at the court of Brussels, was among the spectators who witnessed the execution of the two nobles. He sent home to his master a full account of the tragic scene, the most minute, and perhaps the most trustworthy, that we have of it. It luckily fell into Brantôme's hands, who has incorporated it into his notice of Egmont.

his friend in military renown. Lamoral, Count Egmont, inherited through his mother, the most beautiful woman of her time,[30] the title of prince of Gavre,—a place on the Scheldt, not far from Ghent. He preferred, however, the more modest title of Count of Egmont, which came to him by the father's side, from ancestors who had reigned over the duchy of Gueldres. The uncommon promise which he early gave served, with his high position, to recommend him to the notice of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who, in 1544, honored by his presence Egmont's nuptials with Sabina, countess-palatine of Bavaria. In 1546, when scarcely twenty-four years of age, he was admitted to the order of the Golden Fleece,—and, by a singular coincidence, on the same day on which that dignity was bestowed on the man destined to become his mortal foe, the duke of Alva.[31] Philip, on his accession, raised him to the dignity of a councillor of state, and made him governor of the important provinces of Artois and Flanders. But every other title to distinction faded away before that derived from those two victories which left the deepest stain on the French arms that they had received since the defeat of Pavia. "I have seen," said the French ambassador, who witnessed the execution of Egmont, "I have seen the head of that man fall who twice caused France to tremble."[32]

[30] "La comtesse d'Aiguemont, qui emporta en cette assemblée le bruit d'être la plus bella de toutes les Flamandes." Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 364.

[31] Gerlache, Hist. du Royaume des Pays-Bas, tom. i. p. 96.

[32] "Qu'il avoit vu tomber la tête de celui qui avoit fait trembler deux fois la France." Supplément à Strada, tom. i. p. 266.

Yet the fame won by his success was probably unfortunate for Egmont. For this, the fruit of impetuous valor and of a brilliant *coup-de-main*, was very different from the success of a long campaign, implying genius and great military science in the commander. Yet the *éclat* it gave was enough to turn the head of a man less presumptuous than Egmont. It placed him at once on the most conspicuous eminence in the country, compelling him, in some sort, to take a position above his capacity to maintain. When the troubles broke out, Egmont was found side by side with Orange, in the van of the malecontents. He was urged to this rather by generous sensibility to the wrongs of his countrymen than by any settled principle of action. Thus acting from impulse, he did not, like William, calculate the consequences of his conduct. When those consequences came, he was not prepared to meet them; he was like some unskilful necromancer, who has neither the wit to lay the storm which he has raised, nor the hardihood to brave it. He was acted on by contrary influences. In opposition to the popular movement came his strong feeling of loyalty, and his stronger devotion to the Roman Catholic faith. His personal vanity co-operated with these; for Egmont was too much of a courtier willingly to dispense with the smiles of royalty. Thus the opposite forces by which he was impelled served to neutralize each other. Instead of moving on a decided line of conduct, like his friend, William of Orange, he appeared weak and vacillating. He hesitated where he should have acted. And as the

storm thickened, he even retraced his steps, and threw himself on the mercy of the monarch whom he had offended. William better understood the character of his master,—and that of the minister who was to execute his decrees.[33]

Still, with all his deficiencies, there was much both in the personal qualities of Egmont and in his exploits to challenge admiration. "I knew him," says Brantôme, "both in France and in Spain, and never did I meet with a nobleman of higher breeding, or more gracious in his manners."[34] With an address so winning, a heart so generous, and with so brilliant a reputation, it is not wonderful that Egmont should have been the pride of his court and the idol of his countrymen. In their idolatry they could not comprehend that

[33] Morillon, in a letter to Granvelle, dated August 3d, 1567, a few weeks only before Egmont's arrest, gives a graphic sketch of that nobleman, which, although by no friendly hand, seems to be not wholly without truth: "Ce seigneur, y est-il dit, est haut et présumant de soy, jusques à vouloir embrasser le faict de la république et le redressement d'icelle et de la religion, que ne sont pas de son gibier, et est plus propre pour conduire une chasse ou volerie, et, pour dire tout, une bataille, s'il fut esté si bien advisé que de se cognoistre et se mesurer de son pied; mais les flatteries perdent ces gens, et on leur fait accroire qu'ilz sont plus saiges qu'ilz ne sont, et ilz le croient et se bouttent sy avant, que aprèz ilz ne se peuvent ravoir, et il est force qu'ilz facent le sault." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. lxix.

[34] "Je diray de lui que c'estoit le seigneur de la plus belle façon et de la meilleure grace que j'aye veu jamais, fust ce parmy les grandz, parmy ses pairs, parmy les gens de guerre, et parmy les dames, l'ayant veu en France et en Espagne, et parlé à luy." Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. i. p. 369.—An old lady of the French court, who in her early days had visited Flanders, assured Brantôme that she had often seen Egmont, then a mere youth, and that at that time he was excessively shy and awkward, so much so, indeed, that it was a common jest with both the men and women of the court. Such was the rude stock from which at a later day was to spring the flower of chivalry!

Alva's persecution should not have been prompted by a keener feeling than a sense of public duty or obedience to his sovereign. They industriously sought in the earlier history of the rival chiefs the motives for personal pique. On Alva's first visit to the Netherlands, Egmont, then a young man, was said to have won of him a considerable sum at play. The ill will thus raised in Alva's mind was heightened by Egmont's superiority over him at a shooting-match, which the people, regarding as a sort of national triumph, hailed with an exultation that greatly increased the mortification of the duke.[35] But what filled up the measure of his jealousy was his rival's military renown; for the Fabian policy which directed Alva's campaigns, however it established his claims to the reputation of a great commander, was by no means favorable to those brilliant feats of arms which have such attraction for the multitude. So intense, indeed, was the feeling of hatred, it was said, in Alva's bosom, that on the day of his rival's execution he posted himself behind a lattice of the very building in which Egmont had been confined, that he might feast his eyes with the sight of his mortal agony.[36]

[35] "Posteà in publicâ lætitiâ dum uterque explodendo ad signum sclopo ex provocatione contenderent, superatus esset Albanus, ingenti Belgarum plausu ad nationis suæ decus referentium victoriam ex Duce Hispano." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 391.

[36] Schiller, in his account of the execution of the two nobles, tells us that it was from a window of the Hotel de Ville, the fine old building on the opposite side of the market-place, that Alva watched the last struggles of his victims. The *cicerone*, on the other hand, who shows the credulous traveller the *memorabilia* of the city, points out the very chamber in the Maison du Roi in which the duke secreted himself.—*Valeat quantum.*

The friends of Alva give a very different view of his conduct. According to them, an illness under which he labored at the close of Egmont's trial was occasioned by his distress of mind at the task imposed on him by the king. He had written more than once to the court of Castile to request some mitigation of Egmont's sentence, but was answered that " this would have been easy to grant if the offence had been against the king; but against the faith it was impossible." [37] It was even said that the duke was so much moved that he was seen to shed tears as big as peas on the day of the execution.[38]

I must confess, I have never seen any account that would warrant a belief in the report that Alva witnessed in person the execution of his prisoners. Nor, on the other hand, have I met with any letter of his deprecating the severity of their sentence or advising a mitigation of their punishment. This, indeed, would be directly opposed to his policy, openly avowed. The reader may perhaps recall the homely simile by which he recommended to the queen-mother, at Bayonnne, to strike at the great nobles in preference to the commoners. " One salmon," he said, " was worth ten thousand frogs." [39] Soon after Egmont's

[37] " Qu'il avoit procuré de tout son povoir la mitigation, mais que l'on avoit répondu que, si il n'y eut esté aultre offence que celle qui touchoit S. M., le pardon fut esté facille, mais qu'elle ne pouvoit remectre l'offense faicte si grande à Dieu." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, Supplément, p. 81.

[38] " J'entendz d'aucuns que son Exc. at jecté des larmes aussi grosses que poix au temps que l'on estoit sur ces exécutions." Ibid., ubi supra.—They must have been as big as crocodiles' tears.

[39] *Ante*, vol. ii. p. 212.

arrest, some of the burghers of Brussels waited on him to ask him why it had been made. The duke bluntly told them, "When he had got together his troops he would let them know."[40] Everything shows that in his method of proceeding in regard to the two lords he had acted on a preconcerted plan, in the arrangement of which he had taken his full part. In a letter to Philip, written soon after the execution, he speaks with complacency of having carried out the royal views in respect to the great offenders.[41] In another, he notices the sensation caused by the death of Egmont; and "the greater the sensation," he adds, "the greater will be the benefit to be derived from it."[42] There is little in all this of compunction for the act, or of compassion for its victims.

The truth seems to be that Alva was a man of an arrogant nature, an inflexible will, and of the most narrow and limited views. His doctrine of implicit obedience went as far as that of Philip himself. In enforcing it, he disdained the milder methods of argument or conciliation. It was on force, brute force alone, that he relied. He was bred a soldier, early accustomed to the stern discipline of the camp. The only law he recognized

[40] "Je suis occupé à réunir mes troupes, Espagnoles, Italiennes, et Allemandes; quand je serai prêt, vous recevrez ma réponse." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. iii. p. xx.

[41] "Il lui rend compte de ce qu'il a fait pour l'exécution des ordres que le Roi lui donna à son départ, et qui consistaient à arrêter et à châtier exemplairement les principaux du pays qui s'étaient rendus coupables durant les troubles." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 29.

[42] "Ç'a été une chose de grand effet en ce pays, que l'exécution d'Egmont; et plus grand a été l'effet, plus l'exemple qu'on a voulu faire sera fructueux." Ibid., p. 28.

was martial law; his only argument, the sword. No agent could have been fitter to execute the designs of a despotic prince. His hard, impassible nature was not to be influenced by those affections which sometimes turn the most obdurate from their purpose. As little did he know of fear; nor could danger deter him from carrying out his work. The hatred he excited in the Netherlands was such that, as he was warned, it was not safe for him to go out after dark. Placards were posted up in Brussels menacing his life if he persisted in the prosecution of Egmont.[43] He held such menaces as light as he did the entreaties of the countess or the arguments of her counsel. Far from being moved by personal considerations, no power could turn him from that narrow path which he professed to regard as the path of duty. He went surely, though it might be slowly, towards the mark, crushing by his iron will every obstacle that lay in his track. We shudder at the contemplation of such a character, relieved by scarcely a single touch of humanity. Yet we must admit there is something which challenges our admiration in the stern, uncompromising manner, without fear or favor, with which a man of this indomitable temper carries his plans into execution.

It would not be fair to omit, in this connection, some passages from Alva's correspondence, which suggest the idea that he was not wholly insensible to feelings of compassion,—when they did not interfere with the performance of his task. In a letter to the king, dated the ninth of June, four

[43] Ossorio, Albæ Vita, p. 278.

days only after the death of the two nobles, the duke says, "Your majesty will understand the regret I feel at seeing these poor lords brought to such an end, and myself obliged to bring them to it.[44] But I have not shrunk from doing what is for your majesty's service. Indeed, they and their accomplices have been the cause of very great present evil, and one which will endanger the souls of many for years to come. The Countess Egmont's condition fills me with the greatest pity, burdened as she is with a family of eleven children, none old enough to take care of themselves; and she too a lady of so distinguished rank, sister of the count-palatine, and of so virtuous, truly Catholic, and exemplary life.[45] There is no man in the country who does not grieve for her! I cannot but commend her," he concludes, "as I do now, very humbly, to the good graces of your majesty, beseeching you to call to mind that if the count, her husband, came to trouble at the close of his days, he formerly rendered great service to the state."[46] The reflection, it must be owned, came somewhat late.

[44] "V. M. peult considérer le regret que ça m'a esté de voir ces pauvres seigneurs venus à tels termes, et qu'il ayt fallut que moy en fusse l'exécuteur." Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 252.

[45] "Madame d'Egmont me faict grand pitié et compassion, pour la voir chargée de unze enfans et nuls addressez, et elle, dame sy principale, comme elle est, sœur du comte palatin, et de si bonne, vertueuse, catholique et exemplaire vie, qu'il n'y a homme qui ne la regrette." Ibid., ubi supra.

[46] The duke wrote no less than three letters to the king, of this same date, June 9th. The *précis* of two is given by Gachard, and the third is published entire by Reiffenberg. The countess and her misfortunes form the burden of two of them.

In another letter to Philip, though of the same date, Alva recommends the king to summon the countess and her children to Spain, where her daughters might take the veil and her sons be properly educated. "I do not believe," he adds, "that there is so unfortunate a family in the whole world. I am not sure that the countess has the means of procuring a supper this very evening!" [47]

Philip, in answer to these letters, showed that he was not disposed to shrink from his own share of responsibility for the proceedings of his general. The duke, he said, had only done what justice and his duty demanded.[48] He could have wished that the state of things had warranted a different result; nor could he help feeling deeply that measures like those to which he had been forced should have been necessary in his reign. "But," continued the king, "no man has a right to shrink from his duty.[49] I am well pleased," he concludes, "to learn that the two lords made so good and Catholic an end. As to what you recommend in regard to the countess of Egmont and her eleven children, I shall give all proper heed to it." [50]

The condition of the countess might well have

[47] "Il ne croit pas qu'il y ait aujourd'hui sur la terre une maison aussi malheureuse; il ne sait même si la comtesse aura de quoi souper ce soir." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 28.

[48] "Je treuve ce debvoir de justice estre faict comme il convient et vostre considération très-bonne." Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 255.

[49] "Mais personne ne peult délaisser de se acquitter en ce en quoy il est obligé." Ibid., ubi supra.

[50] "Quant à la dame d'Egmont et ses unze enfans, et ce que me y représentez, en me les recommandant, je y auray tout bon regard." Ibid., ubi supra.

moved the hardest heart to pity. Denied all access to her husband, she had been unable to afford him that consolation which he so much needed during his long and dreary confinement. Yet she had not been idle; and, as we have seen, she was unwearied in her efforts to excite a sympathy in his behalf. Neither did she rely only on the aid which this world can give; and few nights passed during her lord's imprisonment in which she and her daughters might not be seen making their pious pilgrimages, barefooted, to the different churches of Brussels, to invoke the blessing of Heaven on their labors. She had been supported through this trying time by a reliance on the success of her endeavors, in which she was confirmed by the encouragement she received from the highest quarters. It is not necessary to give credit to the report of a brutal jest attributed to the duke of Alva, who, on the day preceding the execution, was said to have told the countess " to be of good cheer; for her husband would leave the prison on the morrow! " [51] There is more reason to believe that the Emperor Maximilian, shortly before the close of the trial, sent a gentleman with a kind letter to the countess, testifying the interest he took in her affairs and assuring her she had nothing to fear on account of her husband.[52] On the very morning of Egmont's execution, she was herself, we are told, paying a visit of condolence to the countess of Aremberg, whose husband had lately

[51] Arend (Algemeene Geschiedenis des Vaderlands, D. ii. St. v. bl. 66), who gets the story, to which he attaches no credit himself, from a contemporary, Hooft.

[52] Supplément à Strada, tom. i. p. 252.

fallen in the battle of Heyligerlee; and at her friend's house the poor lady is said to have received the first tidings of the fate of her lord.[53]

The blow fell the heavier, that she was so ill prepared for it. On the same day she found herself not only a widow, but a beggar,—with a family of orphan children in vain looking up to her for the common necessaries of life.[54] In her extremity, she resolved to apply to the king himself. She found an apology for it in the necessity of transmitting to Philip her husband's letter to him, which, it seems, had been intrusted to her care.[55] She apologizes for not sooner sending this last and most humble petition of her deceased lord, by the extreme wretchedness of her situation, abandoned as she is by all, far from kindred and country.[56] She trusts in his majesty's benignity and compassion[57] to aid her sons by receiving them into his service when they shall be of sufficient age. This will oblige her, during the remain-

[53] "Laquelle, ainsi qu'elle estoit en sa chambre et sur ces propos, on luy vint annoncer qu'on alloit trancher la teste à son mary." Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. i. p. 368.—Under all the circumstances, one cannot insist strongly on the probability of the anecdote.

[54] One of her daughters, in a fit of derangement brought on by excessive grief for her father's fate, attempted to make way with herself by throwing herself from a window. Relacion de la Justicia, MS.

[55] This was the duplicate, no doubt, of the letter given to the bishop of Ypres, to whom Egmont may have intrusted a copy, with the idea that it would be more certain to reach the hands of the king than the one sent to his wife.

[56] "La misère où elle se trouve, étant devenue veuve avec onze enfans, abandonée de tous, hors de son pays et loin de ses parents, l'a empêchée d'envoyer plus tôt au Roi la dernière et très-humble requête de son défunt mari." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 31.

[57] "De la bénignité et pitié du Roi." Ibid., ubi supra.

der of her sad days, and her children after her, to pray God for the long and happy life of his majesty.[58] It must have given another pang to the heart of the widowed countess to have been thus forced to solicit aid from the very hand that had smitten her. But it was the mother pleading for her children.

Yet Philip, notwithstanding his assurances to the duke of Alva, showed no alacrity in relieving the wants of the countess. On the first of September the duke again wrote to urge the necessity of her case, declaring that, if it had not been for a "small sum that he had himself sent, she and the children would have perished of hunger!"[59]

The misfortunes of this noble lady excited commiseration not only at home, but in other countries of Europe, and especially in Germany, the land of her birth.[60] Her brother, the elector of Bavaria, wrote to Philip to urge the restitution of her husband's estates to his family. Other German princes preferred the same request, which was moreover formally made by the emperor, through his ambassador at Madrid. Philip coolly replied

[58] "Ce que m'obligerat, le reste de mes tristes jours, et toute ma postérité, à prier Dieu pour la longue et heureuse vie de V. M." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 31.

[59] "S'il ne leur avait pas donné quelque argent, ils mourraient de faim." Ibid., p. 38.

[60] It seems strange that Goethe, in his tragedy of "Egmont," should have endeavored to excite what may be truly called a meretricious interest in the breasts of his audience, by bringing an imaginary mistress, named Clara, on the stage, instead of the noble-hearted wife, so much better qualified to share the fortunes of her husband and give dignity to his sufferings. Independently of other considerations, this departure from historic truth cannot be defended on any true principle of dramatic effect.

that "the time for this had not yet come." [61] A moderate pension, meanwhile, was annually paid by Alva to the countess of Egmont, who survived her husband ten years,—not long enough to see her children established in possession of their patrimony.[62] Shortly before her death, her eldest son, then grown to man's estate, chafing under the sense of injustice to himself and his family, took part in the war against the Spaniards. Philip, who may perhaps have felt some compunction for the ungenerous requital he had made for the father's services, not only forgave this act of disloyalty in the son, but three years later allowed the young man to resume his allegiance and placed him in full possession of the honors and estates of his ancestors.[63]

Alva, as we have seen, in his letters to Philip, had dwelt on the important effects of Egmont's execution. He did not exaggerate these effects. But he sorely mistook the nature of them. Abroad, the elector of Bavaria at once threw his whole weight into the scale of Orange and the

[61] Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 183.

[62] After an annual grant, which rose from eight to twelve thousand livres, the duke settled on her a pension of two thousand gulden, which continued to the time of her death, in 1578. (Arend, Algemeene Geschiedenis des Vaderlands, D. ii. St. v. bl. 66.) The gulden, or guilder, at the present day, is equivalent to about one shilling and ninepence sterling, or thirty-nine cents.

[63] Philip, Count Egmont, lived to enjoy his ancestral honors till 1590, when he was slain at Ivry, fighting against Henry the Fourth and the Protestants of France. He died without issue, and was succeeded by his brother Lamoral, a careless prodigal, who with the name seems to have inherited few of the virtues of his illustrious father. Arend, Algemeene Geschiedenis des Vaderlands, D. ii. St. v. bl. 66.

party of reform.[64] Others of the German princes followed his example; and Maximilian's ambassador at Madrid informed Philip that the execution of the two nobles, by the indignation it had caused throughout Germany, had wonderfully served the designs of the prince of Orange.[65]

At home the effects were not less striking. The death of these two illustrious men, following so close upon the preceding executions, spread a deep gloom over the country. Men became possessed with the idea that the reign of blood was to be perpetual.[66] All confidence was destroyed, even that confidence which naturally exists between parent and child, between brother and brother.[67] The foreign merchant caught somewhat of this general distrust, and refused to send his commodities to a country where they were exposed to confiscation.[68] Yet among the inhabitants indignation was greater than even fear or sorrow;[69] and the Flemings who had taken part in the prosecution of Egmont trembled before the wrath of an avenging people.[70] Such were the effects pro-

[64] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 259.

[65] "La mort des comtes d'Egmont et de Hornes, et ce qui s'est passé avec l'électeur de Trèves, servent merveilleusement ses desseins." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 37.

[66] "Les exécutions faites ont imprimé dans les esprits une terreur si grande, qu'on croit qu'il s'agit de gouverner par le sang à perpétuité." Ibid., p. 29.

[67] "Il n'y a plus de confiance du frère au frère, et du père au fils." Ibid., ubi supra.

[68] Ibid., ubi supra.

[69] "Funestum Egmontii finem doluere Belgæ odio majore, quàm luctu." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 394.

[70] The Flemish councillor, Hessels, who, it may be remembered, had particular charge of the provincial prosecutions, incurred still greater odium by the report of his being employed to draft the sen-

duced by the execution of men whom the nation reverenced as martyrs in the cause of freedom. Alva notices these consequences in his letters to the king. But, though he could discern the signs of the times, he little dreamed of the extent of the troubles they portended. "The people of this country," he writes, "are of so easy a temper that, when your majesty shall think fit to grant them a general pardon, your clemency, I trust, will make them as prompt to render you their obedience as they are now reluctant to do it." [71] The haughty soldier, in his contempt for the peaceful habits of a burgher population, comprehended as little as his master the true character of the men of the Netherlands.

tences of the two lords. He subsequently withdrew from the bloody tribunal, and returned to his native province, where he became vice-president of the council of Flanders. This new accession of dignity only made him a more conspicuous mark for the public hatred. In 1577, in a popular insurrection which overturned the government of Ghent, Hessels was dragged from his house and thrown into prison. After lying there a year, a party of ruffians broke into the place, forced him into a carriage, and, taking him a short distance from town, executed the summary justice of *Lynch law* on their victim by hanging him to a tree. Some of the party, after the murder, were audacious enough to return to Ghent with locks of the gray hair of the wretched man displayed in triumph on their bonnets. Some years later, when the former authorities were re-established, the bones of Hessels were removed from their unhallowed burial-place and laid with great solemnity and funeral pomp in the church of St. Michael. Prose and verse were exhausted in his praise. His memory was revered as that of a martyr. Miracles were performed at his tomb; and the popular credulity went so far that it was currently reported in Ghent that Philip had solicited the pope for his canonization! See the curious particulars in Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. pp. 451–456.

[71] "Este es un pueblo tan fácil, que espero que con ver la clemencia de V. M., haciendose el pardon general, se ganarán los animos á que de buena gana lleven la obediencia que digo, que ahora sufren de malo." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 29.

CHAPTER VI

SECRET EXECUTION OF MONTIGNY

Bergen and Montigny—Their Situation in Spain—Death of Bergen —Arrest of Montigny—Plot for his Escape—His Process—Removal to Simancas—Closer Confinement—Midnight Execution

1567–1570

BEFORE bidding a long adieu to the Netherlands, it will be well to lay before the reader an account of a transaction which has proved a fruitful theme of speculation to the historian, but which until the present time has been shrouded in impenetrable mystery.

It may be remembered that in the year 1566 two noble Flemings, the marquis of Bergen and the baron of Montigny, were sent on a mission to the court of Madrid, to lay before the king the critical state of affairs, imperatively demanding some change in the policy of the government. The two lords went on the mission; but they never returned. Many conjectures were made respecting their fate; and historians have concluded that Bergen possibly,[1] and certainly Montigny, came to their end by violence.[2] But in the want of evi-

[1] "Le bruit public qui subsiste encore, divulgue qu'il est mort empoisonné." Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 235.—The author himself does not endorse the vulgar rumor.

[2] Meteren tells us that Montigny was killed by poison which his page, who afterwards confessed the crime, put in his broth. (Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 60.) Vandervynckt, after noticing various rumors, dismisses them with the remark, "On n'a pu savoir au juste ce qu'il était devenu." Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 237.

dence it was only conjecture; while the greatest discrepancy has prevailed in regard to details. It is not till very recently that the veil has been withdrawn through the access that has been given to the Archives of Simancas, that dread repository in which the secrets of the Castilian kings have been buried for ages. Independently of the interest attaching to the circumstances of the present narrative, it is of great importance for the light it throws on the dark unscrupulous policy of Philip the Second. It has, moreover, the merit of resting on the most authentic grounds, the correspondence of the king and his ministers.

Both envoys were men of the highest consideration. The marquis of Bergen, by his rank and fortune, was in the first class of the Flemish aristocracy.[3] Montigny was of the ancient house of the Montmorencys, being a younger brother of the unfortunate Count Hoorne. He occupied several important posts,—among others, that of governor of Tournay,—and, like Bergen, was a knight of the Golden Fleece. In the political disturbances of the time, although not placed in the front of disaffection, the two lords had taken part with the discontented faction, had joined in the war upon Granvelle, and had very generally disapproved of the policy of the crown. They had, especially, raised their voices against the system of religious persecution, with a manly independence which had secured for them—it seems undeservedly—the

[3] His revenues seem to have been larger than those of any other Flemish lord, except Egmont and Orange,—amounting to something more than fifty thousand florins annually. Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 115.

reputation of being the advocates of religious reform. This was particularly the case with Bergen, who, to one that asked how heretics should be dealt with, replied, "If they were willing to be converted, I would not trouble them. If they refused, still I would not take their lives, as they might hereafter be converted." This saying, duly reported to the ears of Philip, was doubtless treasured up against the man who had the courage to utter it.[4]

The purpose of their embassy was to urge on the king the necessity of a more liberal and lenient policy, to which Margaret, who had not yet broken with the nobles, was herself inclined. It was not strange that the two lords should have felt the utmost reluctance to undertake a mission which was to bring them so directly within the power of the monarch whom they knew they had offended, and who, as they also knew, was not apt to forgive an offence. True, Egmont had gone on a similar mission to Madrid and returned uninjured to Brussels. But it was an earlier period, when the aspect of things was not so dangerous. His time had not yet come.

It was not till after much delay that the other nobles, with the regent, prevailed on Bergen and Montigny to accept the trust, by urging on them its absolute importance for asssuring the tranquillity of the country. Even then, an injury which confined the marquis some weeks to his house fur-

[4] Correspondance de Philippe II., Rapport, p. xxxvii.—It was reported to Philip's secretary, Erasso, by that mischievous bigot, Fray Lorenzo Villavicencio, not, as may be supposed, to do honor to the author of it, but to ruin him.

nished him with a plausible excuse for not performing his engagement, of which he would gladly have availed himself. But his scruples again vanished before the arguments and entreaties of his friends; and he consented to follow, as he could not accompany, Montigny.

The latter reached Madrid towards the middle of June, 1566, was graciously received by the king, and was admitted to repeated audiences, at which he did not fail to urge the remedial measures countenanced by Margaret. Philip appeared to listen with complacency, but declined giving an answer till the arrival of the other ambassador, who, having already set out on his journey, was attacked, on his way through France, by a fever. There Bergen halted, and again thought of abandoning the expedition. His good genius seemed ever willing to interpose to save him. But his evil genius, in the shape of Philip, who wrote to him in the most condescending terms, to hasten his journey, beckoned him to Madrid.[5]

Besides the two envoys there was another person of consequence from the Low Countries at that time in the capital,—Simon Renard, once Charles's minister at the English court, the inexorable foe of Granvelle. He had been persuaded by Philip to come to Spain, although to do so, he knew, was to put himself on trial for his manifold offences against the government. He was arrested, proceedings were commenced against him, and he was released only by an illness which terminated in his death. There seems to have been a mysterious

[5] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 439.

fascination possessed by Philip, that he could thus draw within his reach the very men whom every motive of self-preservation should have kept at an immeasurable distance.

The arrival of the marquis did not expedite the business of the mission. Unfortunately, about that period news came to Madrid of the outbreak of the iconoclasts, exciting not merely in Spain, but throughout Christendom, feelings of horror and indignation. There was no longer a question as to a more temperate policy. The only thought now was of vengeance. It was in vain that the Flemish envoys interposed to mitigate the king's anger and turn him from those violent measures which must bring ruin on the country. Their remonstrances were unheeded. They found access to his person by no means so easy a thing as before. They felt that somewhat of the odium of the late transactions attached to them. Even the courtiers, with the ready instinct that detects a sovereign's frown, grew cold in their deportment. The situation of the envoys became every day more uncomfortable. Their mission was obviously at an end, and all they now asked was leave to return to the Netherlands.

But the king had no mind to grant it. He had been long since advised by Granvelle, and others in whom he trusted, that both the nobles had taken a decided part in fostering the troubles of the country.[6] To that country they were never to

[6] See the letters of the royal *contador*, Alonzo del Canto, from Brussels. (Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. pp. 411, 425.) Granvelle, in a letter from Rome, chimes in with the same tune,—though, as usual with the prelate, in a more covert manner: "Le

return. Philip told them he had need of their presence for some time longer, to advise with him on the critical state of affairs in Flanders. So thin a veil could not impose on them; and they were filled with the most serious apprehensions. They wrote to Margaret, begging her to request the king to dismiss them; otherwise they should have good cause to complain both of her and of the nobles, who had sent them on a mission from which they would gladly have been excused.[7] But Margaret had already written to her brother to keep them in Spain until the troubles in Flanders should be ended.[8] On the reception of the letter of her envoys, however, she replied that she had already written to the king to request leave for them to return.[9] I have found no record of such a letter.

In the spring of 1567, the duke of Alva was sent to take command in the Netherlands. Such an appointment, at such a crisis, plainly intimated the course to be pursued, and the host of evils it would soon bring on the devoted country. The conviction of this was too much for Bergen, heightened

choix de Berghes et Montigny n'est pas mauvais, si le but de leur mission est d'informer le Roi de l'état des choses: car ils sont ceux qui en ont le mieux connaissance, et qui peut-être y ont pris le plus de part." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 417.

[7] "Autrement, certes, Madame, aurions juste occasion de nous doloir et de V. A. et des seigneurs de par delà, pour nous avoir commandé de venir ici, pour recevoir honte et desplaisir, estantz forcés journellement de véoir et oyr choses qui nos desplaisent jusques à l'âme, et de veoir aussy le peu que S. M. se sert de nous." Ibid., p. 498.

[8] This letter is dated November 18th, 1566. (Ibid., p. 486.) The letter of the two lords was written on the last day of the December following.

[9] Her letter is dated March 5th, 1567. Ibid., p. 516.

as his distress was by his separation, at such a moment, from all that was most dear to him on earth. He fell ill of a fever, and grew rapidly worse, till at length it was reported to Philip that there was no chance for his recovery unless he were allowed to return to his native land.[10]

This placed the king in a perplexing dilemma. He was not disposed to let the marquis escape from his hands even by the way of a natural death. He was still less inclined to assent to his return to Flanders. In this emergency he directed Ruy Gomez, the prince of Eboli, to visit the sick nobleman, who was his personal friend. In case Gomez found the marquis so ill that his recovery was next to impossible, he was to give him the king's permission to return home. If, however, there seemed a prospect of his recovery, he was only to hold out the hope of such a permission.[11] In case of the sick man's death, Gomez was to take care to have his obsequies performed in such a way as to show the sorrow of the king and his ministers at his loss, and their respect for the lords of the Low Countries![12] He was moreover, in that event, to take means to have the marquis's property in the Netherlands sequestrated, as, should rebellion be proved against him, it would be forfeited to the

[10] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 535.

[11] "De lui dire (mais seulement après qu'il se sera assuré qu'une guérison est à peu près impossible) que le Roi lui permet de retourner aux Pays-Bas: si, au contraire, il lui paraissait que le marquis pût se rétablir, il se contenterait de lui faire espérer cette permission." Ibid., p. 535.

[12] "Il sera bien, en cette occasion, de montrer le regret que le Roi et ses ministres ont de sa mort, et le cas qu'ils font des seigneurs des Pays-Bas!" Ibid., p. 536.

crown. This curious and, as it must be allowed, highly confidential epistle was written with the king's own hand. The address ran, " Ruy Gomez —to his hands. Not to be opened nor read in the presence of the bearer."

Which part of the royal instruction the minister thought best to follow for the cure of the patient —whether he gave him an unconditional permission to return, or only held out the hope that he would do so—we are not informed. It matters little, however. The marquis, it is probable, had already learned not to put his trust in princes. At all events, the promises of the king did as little for the patient as the prescriptions of the doctor. On the twenty-first of May he died,—justifying the melancholy presentiment with which he had entered on his mission.

Montigny was the only victim that now remained to Philip; and he caused him to be guarded with redoubled vigilance. He directed Ruy Gomez to keep an eye on all his movements, and to write to the governors of Navarre, Catalonia, and other frontier places, to take precautions to intercept the Flemish lord in case of his attempting to fly the country.[13] Montigny was in fact a prisoner, with Madrid for the limits of his prison. Yet, after this, the regent could write to him from Brussels that she was pleased to learn from her brother that he was soon to give him his *congé*.[14]

[13] Correspondance de Philippe II., ubi supra.

[14] " Elle espère le voir sous peu, puisque le Roi lu' a fait dire que son intention était de lui donner bientôt son congé." Ibid., p. 558.—The letter is dated July 13th.

If the king said this, he had a bitter meaning in his words, beyond what the duchess apprehended.

It was not long, however, that Montigny was allowed to retain even this degree of liberty. In September, 1567, arrived the tidings of the arrest of the Counts Egmont and Hoorne. Orders were instantly issued for the arrest of Montigny. He was seized by a detachment of the royal guard and borne off to the alcazar of Segovia.[15] He was not to be allowed to leave the fortress day or night; but as much indulgence was shown to him as was compatible with this strict confinement; and he was permitted to take with him the various retainers who composed his household, and to maintain his establishment in prison. But what indulgence could soften the bitterness of a captivity far from kindred and country, with the consciousness, moreover, that the only avenue from his prison conducted to the scaffold!

In his extremity, Montigny looked around for the means of effecting his own escape; and he nearly succeeded. One, if not more, of the Spaniards on guard, together with his own servants, were in the plot. It was arranged that the prisoner should file through the bars of a window in his apartment and lower himself to the ground by means of a rope ladder. Relays of horses were provided to take him rapidly on to the sea-port of Santander, in the north, whence he was to be transported in a shallop to St. Jean de Luz. The ma-

[15] The order for the arrest, addressed to the conde de Chinchon, alcayde of the castle of Segovia, is to be found in the Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 526.

terials for executing his part of the work were conveyed to Montigny in the loaves of bread daily sent to him by his baker. Every thing seemed to promise success. The bars of the window were removed.[16] They waited only for a day when the alcayde of the castle would not be likely to visit it. At this juncture the plot was discovered through the carelessness of the *maître-d'hôtel.*

This person neglected to send one of the loaves to his master, which contained a paper giving sundry directions respecting the mode of escape and mentioning the names of several of the parties. The loaf fell into the hands of a soldier.[17] On breaking it, the paper was discovered, and taken by him to the captain of the guard. The plot was laid open; the parties were arrested, and sentenced to death or the galleys. The king allowed the sentence to take effect in regard to the Spaniards. He granted a reprieve to the Flemings, saying that what they had done was in some sort excusable, as being for the service of their master. Besides, they might be of use hereafter, in furnishing testimony in the prosecution of Montigny.[18] On this compound principle their lives

[16] This fact is mentioned in a letter of the alcayde of the fortress, giving an account of the affair to the king. Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 33.

[17] The contents of the paper secreted in the loaf are given in the Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. pp. 527–533.—The latter portion of the fourth volume of this valuable collection is occupied with documents relating to the imprisonment and death of Montigny, drawn from the Archives of Simancas, and never before communicated to the public.

[18] "Il ne les fera point exécuter, mais il les retiendra en prison, car ils peuvent servir à la vérification de quelque point du procès de Montigny lui-même." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 37.

were spared. After languishing some time in prison, they were allowed to return to the Low Countries, bearing with them letters from Montigny, requesting his friends to provide for them in consideration of their sacrifices for him. But they were provided for in a much more summary manner by Alva, who, on their landing, caused them to be immediately arrested, and banished them all from the country, under pain of death if they returned to it![19]

The greatest sympathy was felt for Montigny in the Netherlands, where the nobles were filled with indignation at the unworthy treatment their envoy had received from Philip. His stepmother, the dowager-countess of Hoorne, was as untiring in her efforts for him as she had been for his unfortunate brother. These were warmly seconded by his wife, a daughter of the prince of Epinoy, to whom Montigny had been married but a short time before his mission to Spain. This lady wrote a letter in the most humble tone of supplication to Philip. She touched on the blight brought on her domestic happiness, spoke with a strong conviction of the innocence of Montigny, and with tears and lamentations implored the king, by the consideration of his past services, by the passion of the blessed Saviour, to show mercy to her husband.[20]

[19] Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 60.

[20] "Et *consommée en larmes et pleurs* afin que, en considération des services passés de sondit mari, de son jeune âge a elle, qui n'a été en la compagnie de son mari qu'environ quatre mois, et de la passion de Jésus-Christ, S. M. veuille lui pardonner les fautes qu'il pourrait avoir commises." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 94.

Several months elapsed, after the execution of the Counts Egmont and Hoorne, before the duke commenced proceedings against Montigny; and it was not till February, 1569, that the licentiate Salazar, one of the royal council, was sent to Segovia in order to interrogate the prisoner. The charges were of the same nature with those brought against Egmont and Hoorne. Montigny at first, like them, refused to make any reply,—standing on his rights as a member of the Golden Fleece. He was, however, after a formal protest, prevailed on to waive this privilege. The examination continued several days. The various documents connected with it are still preserved in the Archives of Simancas. M. Gachard has given no abstract of their contents. But that sagacious inquirer, after a careful perusal of the papers, pronounces Montigny's answers to be "a victorious refutation of the charges of the attorney-general." [21]

It was not a refutation that Philip or his viceroy wanted. Montigny was instantly required to appoint some one to act as counsel in his behalf. But no one was willing to undertake the business, till a person of little note at length consented, or was rather compelled to undertake it by the menaces of Alva.[22] Any man might well have felt a disinclination for an office which must expose him to the ill will of the government, with little chance of benefit to his client.

Even after this, Montigny was allowed to lan-

[21] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 123, note.
[22] Ibid., p. 90.

guish another year in prison before sentence was passed on him by his judges. The proceedings of the Council of Blood on this occasion were marked by a more flagitious contempt of justice, if possible, than its proceedings usually were. The duke, in a letter of the eighteenth of March, 1570, informed the king of the particulars of the trial. He had submitted the case, not to the whole court, but to a certain number of the councillors, *selected by him for the purpose*.[23] He does not tell on what principle the selection was made. Philip could readily divine it. In the judgment of the majority, Montigny was found guilty of high treason. The duke accordingly passed sentence of death on him. The sentence was dated March 4th, 1570. It was precisely of the same import with the sentences of Egmont and Hoorne. It commanded that Montigny be taken from prison and publicly beheaded with a sword. His head was to be stuck on a pole, there to remain during the pleasure of his majesty. His goods and estates were to be confiscated to the crown.[24]

The sentence was not communicated even to the Council of Blood. The only persons aware of its existence were the duke's secretary and his two trusty councillors, Vargas and Del Rio. Alva had kept it thus secret until he should learn the will of his master.[25] At the same time he intimated to

[23] "Visto el proceso por algunos del Consejo de S. M. destos sus Estados por mí nombrados para el dicho efecto." Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 535.

[24] The sentence may be found, Ibid., pp. 535–537.

[25] "Porque no viniese á noticia de ninguno de los otros hasta saber la voluntad de V. M." Ibid., p. 533.

Philip that he might think it better to have the execution take place in Castile, as under existing circumstances more eligible than the Netherlands.

Philip was in Andalusia, making a tour in the southern provinces, when the despatches of his viceroy reached him. He was not altogether pleased with their tenor. Not that he had any misgivings in regard to the sentence; for he was entirely satisfied, as he wrote to Alva, of Montigny's guilt.[26] But he did not approve of a public execution. Enough blood, it might be thought in the Netherlands, had been already spilt; and men there might complain that, shut up in a foreign prison during his trial, Montigny had not met with justice.[27] There were certainly some grounds for such a complaint.

Philip resolved to defer taking any decisive step in the matter till his return to the north. Meanwhile, he commended Alva's discretion in keeping the sentence secret, and charged him on no account to divulge it, even to members of the council.

Some months elapsed after the king's return to Madrid before he came to a decision,—exhibiting the procrastination so conspicuous a trait in him, even among a people with whom procrastination was no miracle. It may have been that he was too much occupied with an interesting affair which pressed on him at that moment. About two years

[26] "Así que constando tan claro de sus culpas y delictos, en cuanto al hecho de la justicia no habia que parar mas de mandarle ejecutar." Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 539.

[27] "Por estar acá el delincuento que dijeran que se habia hecho entre compadres, y como opreso, sin se poder defender jurídicamente." Ibid., p. 561.

before, Philip had had the misfortune to lose his young and beautiful queen, Isabella of the Peace. Her place was now to be supplied by a German princess, Anne of Austria, his fourth wife, still younger than the one he had lost. She was already on her way to Castile; and the king may have been too much engrossed by his preparations for the nuptial festivities to have much thought to bestow on the concerns of his wretched prisoner.

The problem to be solved was how to carry the sentence into effect and yet leave the impression on the public that Montigny had died a natural death. Most of the few ministers whom the king took into his confidence on the occasion were of opinion that it would be best to bring the prisoner's death about by means of a slow poison administered in his drink or some article of his daily food. This would give him time, moreover, to provide for the concerns of his soul.[28] But Philip objected to this, as not fulfilling what he was pleased to call the ends of justice.[29] He at last decided on the *garrote*,—the form of execution used for the meaner sort of criminals in Spain, but which, producing death by suffocation, would be less likely to leave its traces on the body.[30]

[28] "Parescia á los mas que era bien darle un bocado ó echar algun género de veneno en la comida ó bebida con que se fuese muriendo poco á poco, y pudiese componer las cosas de su ánima como enfermo." Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 561.

[29] "Mas á S. M. paresció que desta manera no se cumplia con la justicia." Ibid., ubi supra.—These particulars are gathered from a full report of the proceedings, sent, by Philip's orders, to the duke of Alva, November 2d, 1570.

[30] The *garrote* is still used in capital punishments in Spain. It may be well to mention, for the information of some of my readers, that it is performed by drawing a rope tight round the neck of the

To accomplish this, it would be necessary to remove Montigny from the town of Segovia, the gay residence of the court, and soon to be the scene of the wedding-ceremonies, to some more remote and less frequented spot. Simancas was accordingly selected, whose stern, secluded fortress seemed to be a fitting place for the perpetration of such a deed. The fortress was of great strength, and was encompassed by massive walls, and a wide moat, across which two bridges gave access to the interior. It was anciently used as a prison for state criminals. Cardinal Ximenes first conceived the idea of turning it to the nobler purpose of preserving the public archives.[31] Charles the Fifth carried this enlightened project into execution; but it was not fully consummated till the time of Philip, who prescribed the regulations, and made all the necessary arrangements for placing the institution on a permanent basis,—thus securing to future historians the best means for guiding their steps through the dark and tortuous passages of his reign. But even after this change in its destination the fortress of Simancas continued to be used occasionally as a place of confine-

criminal, so as to produce suffocation. This is done by turning a stick to which the rope is attached behind his head. Instead of this apparatus, an iron collar is more frequently employed in modern executions.

[31] This is established by a letter of the cardinal himself, in which he requests the king to command all officials to deliver into his hands their registers, instruments, and public documents of every description,—to be placed in these archives, that they may hereafter be preserved from injury. His biographer adds that few of these documents—such only as could be gleaned by the cardinal's industry—reach as far back as the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.—Quintinilla, Vida de Ximenes, p. 264.

ment for prisoners of state. The famous bishop of Zamora, who took so active a part in the war of the *comunidades*, was there strangled by command of Charles the Fifth. The quarter of the building in which he suffered is still known by the name of "*el cubo del obispo*,"—"The Bishop's Tower."[32]

To this strong place Montigny was removed from Segovia, on the nineteenth of August, 1570, under a numerous guard of alguazils and arquebusiers. For greater security he was put in irons, a superfluous piece of cruelty, from which Philip, in a letter to Alva, thought it necessary to vindicate himself, as having been done without his orders.[33] We might well imagine that the last ray of hope must have faded away in Montigny's bosom as he entered the gloomy portals of his new abode. Yet hope, as we are assured, did not altogether desert him. He had learned that Anne of Austria had expressed much sympathy for his sufferings. It was but natural that the daughter of the Emperor Maximilian should take an interest in the persecuted people of the Netherlands. It was even said that she promised the wife and stepmother of Montigny to make his liberation the first boon she would ask of her husband on coming to Castile.[34] And Montigny cherished the fond

[32] M. Gachard, who gives us some interesting particulars of the ancient fortress of Simancas, informs us that this tower was the scene of some of his own labors there. It was an interesting circumstance, that he was thus exploring the records of Montigny's sufferings in the very spot which witnessed them.

[33] "Así lo cumplió poniéndole grillos para mayor seguridad, aunque esto fué sin órden, porque ni esto era menester ni quisiera S. M. que se hubiera hecho." Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 561.

[34] Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 60.

hope that the influence of the young bride would turn the king from his purpose, and that her coming to Castile would be the signal for his liberation. That Anne should have yielded to such an illusion is not so strange, for she had never seen Philip; but that Montigny should have been beguiled by it is more difficult to understand.

In his new quarters he was treated with a show of respect, if not indulgence. He was even allowed some privileges. Though the guards were doubled over him, he was permitted to have his own servants, and, when it suited him, to take the fresh air and sunshine in the corridor.

Early in October the young Austrian princess landed on the northern shores of the kingdom, at Santander. The tidings of this may have induced the king to quicken his movements in regard to his prisoner, willing perhaps to relieve himself of all chance of importunity from his bride, as well as from the awkwardness of refusing the first favor she should request. As a preliminary step, it would be necessary to abridge the liberty which Montigny at present enjoyed, to confine him to his apartment, and, cutting off his communications even with those in the castle, to spread the rumor of his illness, which should prepare the minds of the public for a fatal issue.

To furnish an apology for his close confinement, a story was got up of an attempt to escape, similar to what had actually occurred at Segovia. Peralta, alcayde of the fortress, a trustworthy vassal, to whom was committed the direction of the affair, addressed a letter to the king, enclosing a

note in Latin, which he pretended had been found under Montigny's window, containing sundry directions for his flight. The fact of such a design, the writer said, was corroborated by the appearance of certain persons in the disguise of friars about the castle. The governor, in consequence, had been obliged to remove his prisoner to other quarters, of greater security. He was accordingly lodged in the Bishop's Tower,—ominous quarters! —where he was no longer allowed the attendance of his own domestics, but placed in strict confinement. Montigny had taken this proceeding so ill, and with such vehement complaints of its injustice, that it had brought on a fever, under which he was now laboring. Peralta concluded by expressing his regret at being forced by Montigny's conduct into a course so painful to himself, as he would gladly have allowed him all the indulgence compatible with his own honor.[35] This letter, which had all been concocted in the cabinet at Madrid, was shown openly at court. It gained easier credit from the fact of Montigny's former attempt to escape; and the rumor went abroad that he was now lying dangerously ill.

Early in October, the licentiate Alonzo de Arellano had been summoned from Seville and installed in the office of alcalde of the chancery of Valladolid, distant only two leagues from Simancas. Arellano was a person in whose discretion and devotion to himself Philip knew he could con-

[35] This lying letter, dated at Simancas, October 10th, with the scrap of mongrel Latin which it enclosed, may be found in the Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. pp. 550–552.

fide; and to him he now intrusted the execution of Montigny. Directions for the course he was to take, as well as the precautions he was to use to prevent suspicion, were set down in the royal instructions with great minuteness. They must be allowed to form a remarkable document, such as has rarely proceeded from a royal pen. The alcalde was to pass to Simancas, and take with him a notary, an executioner, and a priest. The last should be a man of undoubted piety and learning, capable of dispelling any doubts or errors that might unhappily have arisen in Montigny's mind in respect to the faith. Such a man appeared to be Fray Hernando del Castillo, of the order of St. Dominic, in Valladolid; and no better person could have been chosen, nor one more open to those feelings of humanity which are not always found under the robe of the friar.[36]

Attended by these three persons, the alcalde left Valladolid soon after nightfall on the evening of the fourteenth of October. Peralta had been advised of his coming; and the little company were admitted into the castle so cautiously as to attract no observation. The governor and the judge at once proceeded to Montigny's apartment, where they found the unhappy man lying on his pallet, ill not so much of the fever that was talked of, as of that sickness of the heart which springs from hope deferred. When informed of his sentence by Arellano, in words as kind as so cruel a communication would permit, he was wholly overcome

[36] The instructions delivered to the licentiate Don Alonzo de Arellano are given in full, Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. pp. 542–549.

by it, and for some time continued in a state of pitiable agitation. Yet one might have thought that the warnings he had already received were such as might have prepared his mind in some degree for the blow. For he seems to have been in the condition of the tenant of one of those inquisitorial cells in Venice, the walls of which, we are told, were so constructed as to approach each other gradually every day, until the wretched inmate was crushed between them. After Montigny had sufficiently recovered from his agitation to give heed to it, the sentence was read to him by the notary. He was still to be allowed a day before the execution, in order to gain time, as Philip had said, to settle his affairs with Heaven. And although, as the alcalde added, the sentence passed on him was held by the king as a just sentence, yet, in consideration of his quality, his majesty, purely out of his benignity and clemency, was willing so far to mitigate it, in regard to the form, as to allow him to be executed, not in public, but in secret, thus saving his honor, and suggesting the idea of his having come to his end by a natural death.[37] For this act of grace Montigny seems to have been duly grateful. How true were the motives assigned for it, the reader can determine.

Having thus discharged their painful office,

[37] "Aunque S. M. tenia por cierto que era muy jurídica, habida consideracion á la calidad de su persona y usando con él de su Real clemencia y benignidad habia tenido por bien de moderarla en cuanto á la forma mandando que no se ejecutase en público, sino allí en secreto por su honor, y que se daria á entender haber muerto de aquella enfermedad." Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 563.

Arellano and the governor withdrew, and, summoning the friar, left the prisoner to the spiritual consolations he so much needed. What followed, we have from Castillo himself. As Montigny's agitation subsided, he listened patiently to the exhortations of the good father; and when at length restored to something like his natural composure, he joined with him earnestly in prayer. He then confessed and received the sacrament, seeming desirous of employing the brief space that yet remained to him in preparation for the solemn change. At intervals, when not actually occupied with his devotions, he read the compositions of Father Luis de Granada, whose spiritualized conceptions had often solaced the hours of his captivity.

Montigny was greatly disturbed by the rumor of his having been shaken in his religious principles and having embraced the errors of the Reformers. To correct this impression, he briefly drew up, with his own hand, a confession of faith, in which he avows as implicit a belief in all the articles sanctioned by the Roman Catholic Church, and its head, the Vicar of Christ, as Pius the Fifth himself could have desired.[38] Having thus relieved his mind, Montigny turned to some temporal affairs which he was desirous to settle. They did not occupy much time. For, as Philip had truly remarked, there was no occasion for him to make a will, since he had nothing to bequeath,—all his property having been confiscated to the

[38] The confession of faith may be found in the Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 553.

crown.[39] If, however, any debt pressed heavily on his conscience, he was to be allowed to indicate it, as well as any provision which he particularly desired to make for a special purpose. This was on the condition, however, that he should allude to himself as about to die a natural death.[40]

Montigny profited by this to express the wish that masses, to the number of seven hundred, might be said for his soul, that sundry sums might be appropriated to private uses, and that some gratuities might be given to certain of his faithful followers. It may interest the reader to know that the masses were punctually performed. In regard to the pious legacies, the king wrote to Alva, he must first see if Montigny's estate would justify the appropriation; as for the gratuities to servants, they were wholly out of the question.[41]

One token of remembrance, which he placed in the hands of Castillo, doubtless reached its destination. This was a gold chain of delicate workmanship, with a seal or signet ring attached to it, bearing his arms. This little token he requested might be given to his wife. It had been his constant companion ever since they were married; and he wished her to wear it in memory of him,—

[39] "Si el dicho Flores de Memorancí quisiese ordenar testamento no habrá para que darse á esto lugar, pues siendo confiscados todos sus bienes y por tales crímines, ni puede testar ni tiene de qué." Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 548.

[40] "Empero si todavía quisiere hacer alguna memoria de deudas ó descargos se le podrá permitir como en esto no se haga mencion alguna de la justicia y ejecucion que se hace, sino que sea hecho como memorial de hombre enfermo y que se temia morir." Ibid., ubi supra.

[41] "Quant aux mercèdes qu'il a accordées, il n'y a pas lieu d'y donner suite." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 169.

expressing at the same time his regret that a longer life had not been granted him, to serve and honor her. As a dying injunction, he besought her not to be entangled by the new doctrines or to swerve from the faith of her ancestors. If ever Montigny had a leaning to the doctrines of the Reformation, it could hardly have deepened into conviction; for early habit and education reasserted their power so entirely at this solemn moment that the Dominican by his side declared that he gave evidence of being as good and Catholic a Christian as he could wish to be himself.[42] The few hours in which Montigny had thus tasted of the bitterness of death seemed to have done more to wean him from the vanities of life than the whole years of dreary imprisonment he had passed within the walls of Segovia and Simancas. Yet we shall hardly credit the friar's assertion that he carried his resignation so far that, though insisting on his own innocence, he admitted the sentence of his judges to be just![43]

At about two o'clock on the morning of the sixteenth of October, when the interval allowed for this solemn preparation had expired, Father Castillo waited on the governor and the alcalde, to inform them that the hour had come, and that their prisoner was ready to receive them. They

[42] "En lo uno y en lo otro tuvo las demonstraciones de católico y buen cristiano que yo deseo para mí." See the letter of Fray Hernando del Castillo, Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. pp. 554–559.

[43] "Fuéle creciendo por horas el desengaño de la vida, la paciencia, el sufrimiento, y la conformidad con la voluntad de Dios y de su Rey, cuya sentencia siempre alabó por justa, mas siempre protestando de su inocencia." Ibid., ubi supra.

went, without further delay, to the chamber of death, attended by the notary and the executioner. Then, in their presence, while the notary made a record of the proceedings, the grim minister of the law did his work on his unresisting victim.[44]

No sooner was the breath out of the body of Montigny than the alcalde, the priest, and their two companions were on their way back to Valladolid, reaching it before dawn, so as to escape the notice of the inhabitants. All were solemnly bound to secrecy in regard to the dark act in which they had been engaged. The notary and the hangman were still further secured by the menace of death in case they betrayed any knowledge of the matter; and they knew full well that Philip was not a man to shrink from the execution of his menaces.[45]

The corpse was arrayed in a Franciscan habit, which, coming up to the throat, left the face only exposed to observation. It was thus seen by Montigny's servants, who recognized the features of their master, hardly more distorted than sometimes happens from disease, when the agonies of death have left their traces. The story went abroad that their lord had died of the fever with which he had been so violently attacked.

The funeral obsequies were performed, accord-

[44] "Y acabada su plática y encomendarse á Dios todo el tiempo que quiso, el verdugo hizo su oficio dándole garrote." See the account of Montigny's death despatched to the duke of Alva. It was written in cipher, and dated November 2d, 1570. Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 560, et seq.

[45] "Poniendo pena de muerte á los dichos escribano y verdugo si lo descubriesen." Ibid., p. 564.

ing to the royal orders, with all due solemnity. The vicar and beneficiaries of the church of St. Saviour officiated on the occasion. The servants of the deceased were clad in mourning,—a token of respect recommended by Philip, who remarked, the servants were so few that mourning might as well be given to them;[46] and he was willing to take charge of this and the other expenses of the funeral, provided Montigny had not left money sufficient for the purpose. The place selected for his burial was a vault under one of the chapels of the building; and a decent monument indicated the spot where reposed the ashes of the last of the envoys who came from Flanders on the ill-starred mission to Madrid.[47]

Such is a true account of this tragical affair, as derived from the king's own letters and those of his agents. Far different was the story put in circulation at the time. On the seventeenth of October, the day after Montigny's death, despatches were received at court from Peralta, the alcayde of the fortress. They stated that, after writing his former letter, his prisoner's fever had so much increased that he had called in the aid of a physician; and, as the symptoms became more alarming, the latter had entered into a consultation with the medical adviser of the late regent, Joanna, so that nothing that human skill could afford should be wanting to the patient. He grew rapidly worse, however, and as, happily, Father

[46] "Y no será inconveniente que se dé luto á sus criados pues son pocos." La órden que ha de tener el Licenciado D. Alonzo de Arellano, Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 542, et seq.

[47] Ibid., p. 549. Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 159.

Hernando del Castillo, of Valladolid, chanced to be then in Simancas, he came and administered the last consolations of religion to the dying man. Having done all that a good Christian at such a time should do, Montigny expired early on the morning of the sixteenth, manifesting at the last so Catholic a spirit that good hopes might be entertained of his salvation.[48]

This hypocritical epistle, it is hardly necessary to say, like the one that preceded it, had been manufactured at Madrid. Nor was it altogether devoid of truth. The physician of the place, named Viana, had been called in; and it was found necessary to intrust him with the secret. Every day he paid his visit to the castle, and every day returned with more alarming accounts of the condition of the patient; and thus the minds of the community were prepared for the fatal termination of his disorder. Not that, after all, this was unattended with suspicions of foul play in the matter, as people reflected how opportune was the occurrence of such an event. But suspicions were not proof. The secret was too well guarded for any one to penetrate the veil of mystery; and the few who were behind that veil loved their lives too well to raise it.

Despatches written in cipher, and containing a full and true account of the affair, were sent to the duke of Alva. The two letters of Peralta, which indeed were intended for the meridian of Brussels rather than of Madrid, were forwarded with them.

[48] Carta de D. Eugenio de Peralta á S. M., Simancas, 17 de Octubre, 1570, Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 559.

The duke was told to show them incidentally, as it were, without obtruding them on any one's notice,[49] that Montigny's friends in the Netherlands might be satisfied of their truth.

In his own private communication to Alva, Philip, in mentioning the orthodox spirit manifested by his victim in his last moments, shows that with the satisfaction which he usually expressed on such occasions was mingled some degree of scepticism. "If his inner man," he writes of Montigny, "was penetrated with as Christian a spirit as he exhibited in the outer, and as the friar who confessed him has reported, God, we may presume, will have mercy on his soul."[50] In the original draft of the letter, as prepared by the king's secretary, it is further added, "Yet, after all, who can tell but this was a delusion of Satan, who, as we know, never deserts the heretic in his dying hour?" This sentence—as appears from the manuscript still preserved in Simancas—was struck out by Philip, with the remark in his own hand, "Omit this, as we should think no evil of the dead!"[51]

Notwithstanding this magnanimous sentiment, Philip lost no time in publishing Montigny to the world as a traitor, and demanding the confiscation

[49] "No las mostrando de propósito sino descuidadamente á las personas que parasciere, para que por ellas se divulgue haber fallescido de su muerte natural." Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 564.

[50] "El cual si en lo interior acabó tan cristianamente como lo mostró en lo exterior y lo ha referido el fraile que le confesó, es de creer que se habrá apiadado Dios de su ánima." Carta de S. M. al Duque de Alba, del Escurial, á 3 de Noviembre, 1570, Ibid., p. 565.

[51] "Esto mismo borrad de la cifra, que de los muertos no hay que hacer sino buen juicio." Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 525, note.

of his estates. The Council of Blood learned a good lesson from the Holy Inquisition, which took care that even Death should not defraud it of its victims. Proceedings were instituted against the *memory* of Montigny, as had before been done against the memory of the marquis of Bergen.[52] On the twenty-second of March, 1571, the duke of Alva pronounced sentence, condemning the memory of Florence de Montmorency, lord of Montigny, as guilty of high treason, and confiscating his goods and estates to the use of the crown; "it having come to his knowledge," the instrument went on to say, "that the said Montigny had deceased by natural death in the fortress of Simancas, where he had of late been held a prisoner!"[53]

The proceedings of the Council of Blood against Montigny were characterized, as I have already said, by greater effrontery and a more flagrant contempt of the common forms of justice than were usually to be met with even in that tribunal. A bare statement of the facts is sufficient. The party accused was put on his trial—if trial it can be called—in one country, while he was held in close custody in another. The court before which he was tried—or rather the jury, for the council seems to have exercised more of the powers of a jury than of a judge—was on this

[52] The confiscated estates of the marquis of Bergen were restored by Philip to that nobleman's heirs in 1577. See Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 235.

[53] "Attendu que est venu à sa notice que ledict de Montigny seroit allé de vie à trespas, par mort naturelle, en la forteresse de Symancques où il estoit dernièrement détenu prisonier." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 171.

occasion a packed body, selected to suit the purposes of the prosecution. Its sentence, instead of being publicly pronounced, was confided only to the party interested to obtain it,—the king. Even the sentence itself was not the one carried into effect; but another was substituted in its place, and a public execution was supplanted by a midnight assassination. It would be an abuse of language to dignify such a proceeding with the title of a judicial murder.

Yet Philip showed no misgivings as to his own course in the matter. He had made up his mind as to the guilt of Montigny. He had been false to his king and false to his religion,—offences which death only could expiate. Still we find Philip resorting to a secret execution, although Alva, as we have seen, had supposed that sentence was to be executed on Montigny in the same open manner as it had been on the other victims of the bloody tribunal. But the king shrank from exposing a deed to the public eye which, independently of its atrocity in other respects, involved so flagrant a violation of good faith towards the party who had come, at his sovereign's own desire, on a public mission to Madrid. With this regard for the opinions of his own age, it may seem strange that Philip should not have endeavored to efface every vestige of his connection with the act, by destroying the records which established it. On the contrary, he not only took care that such records should be made, but caused them, and all other evidence of the affair, to be permanently preserved in the national archives. There they lay

for the inspection of posterity, which was one day to sit in judgment on his conduct.

In the part of this History which relates to the Netherlands, I have been greatly indebted to two eminent scholars of that country. The first of these, M. Gachard, who has the care of the royal archives of Belgium, was commissioned by his government, in 1844, to visit the Peninsula for the purpose of collecting materials for the illustration of the national history. The most important theatre of his labors was Simancas, which, till the time of his visit, had been carefully closed to natives as well as foreigners. M. Gachard profited by the more liberal arrangements which, under certain restrictions, opened its historical treasures to the student. The result of his labors he is now giving to the world by the publication of his "Correspondance de Philippe II., of which two volumes have already been printed. The work is published in a beautiful form, worthy of the auspices under which it has appeared. It consists chiefly of the correspondence carried on by the Spanish government and the authorities of the Netherlands in the reign of Philip the Second,—the revolutionary age, and of course the most eventful period of their history. The official despatches, written in French, are, it is true, no longer to be found in Simancas, whence they were removed to Brussels on the accession of Albert and Isabella to the sovereignty of the Low Countries. But a large mass of correspondence which passed between the court of Castile and the Netherlands is still preserved in the Spanish archives. As it is, for the most part, of a confidential nature, containing strictures on men and things intended only for the eyes of the parties to it, it is of infinite value to the historian. Not only has it never before been published, but, with the exception of a portion which passed under the review of the Italian Strada, it has never been submitted to the inspection of the scholar. With the aid of this rich collection, the historian is enabled to enter into many details, hitherto unknown, of a personal nature, relating to the actors in the great drama of the revolution, as well as to disclose some of the secret springs of their policy.

M. Gachard has performed his editorial duties with conscientiousness and ability. In a subsequent volume he proposes to give the entire text of the more important letters; but in the two already published he has confined himself to an analysis of their contents, more or less extended, according to circumstances. He has added explanatory notes, and prefixed to the whole a copious dissertation, presenting a view of the politics of the Castilian court, and of the characters of the king and the great officers of state. As the writer's information is derived from sources the most authentic as well as the least accessible to scholars, his preliminary essay deserves to be carefully studied by the historian of the Netherlands.

M. Gachard has further claims to the gratitude of every lover of letters by various contributions in other forms which he has made to the illustration of the national history. Among these his "Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne," of which three volumes in octavo have already appeared, has been freely used by me. It consists of a collection of William's correspondence, industriously gathered from various quarters. The letters differ from one another as widely in value as might naturally be expected in so large and miscellaneous a collection.

The other scholar by whose editorial labors I have profited in this part of my work is M. Groen van Prinsterer. His voluminous publication, "Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau," the first series of which embraces the times of William the Silent, is derived from the private collection of the king of Holland. The contents are various, but consist chiefly of letters from persons who took a prominent part in the conduct of affairs. Their correspondence embraces a miscellaneous range of topics, and with those of public interest combines others strictly personal in their details, thus bringing into strong relief the characters of the most eminent actors on the great political theatre. A living interest attaches to this correspondence, which we shall look for in vain in the colder pages of the historian. History gives us the acts, but letters like these, in which the actors speak for themselves, give us the thoughts, of the individual.

M. Groen has done his part of the work well, adhering to the original text with scrupulous fidelity, and presenting us the letters in the various languages in which they were written. The interstices, so to speak, between the different parts of the correspondence, are skilfully filled up by the editor, so as to connect the incongruous materials into a well-compacted fabric. In conducting what, as far as he is concerned, may be termed the original part of his work, the editor has shown much discretion, gathering information from collateral contemporary sources; and, by the side-lights he has thus thrown over the path, he has greatly facilitated the progress of the student and enabled him to take a survey of the whole historical ground. The editor is at no pains to conceal his own opinions; and we have no difficulty in determining the religious sect to which he belongs. But it is not the less true that he is ready to render justice to the opinions of others, and that he is entitled to the praise of having executed his task with impartiality.

One may notice a peculiarity in the criticisms of both Groen and Gachard, the more remarkable considering the nations to which they belong; that is, the solicitude they manifest to place the most favorable construction on the conduct of Philip, and to vindicate his memory from the wholesale charges so often brought against him, of a systematic attempt to overturn the liberties of the Netherlands. The reader, even should he not always feel the cogency of their arguments, will not refuse his admiration to the candor of the critics.

There is a third publication, recently issued from the press in Brussels, which contains, in the compass of a single volume, materials of much importance for the history of the Netherlands. This is the "Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche," by the late Baron Reiffenberg. It is a part of the French correspondence which, as I have mentioned above, was transferred, in the latter part of Philip the Second's rëign, from Simancas to Brussels, but which, instead of remaining there, was removed, after the country had passed under the Austrian sceptre, to the imperial library of Vienna, where it exists, in all probability, at the present day. Some fragments of this correspondence escaped the fate which attended the bulk of it; and it is gleanings from these which Reiffenberg has given to the world.

That country is fortunate which can command the services of such men as these for the illustration of its national annals,—men who with singular enthusiasm for their task combine the higher qualifications of scholarship, and a talent for critical analysis. By their persevering labors the rich ore has been drawn from the mines where it had lain in darkness for ages. It now waits only for the hand of the artist to convert it into coin and give it a popular currency.

BOOK IV

CHAPTER I

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Condition of Turkey—African Corsairs—Expedition against Tripoli —War on the Barbary Coast

1559–1563

THERE are two methods of writing history, —one by following down the stream of time and exhibiting events in their chronological order, the other by disposing of these events according to their subjects. The former is the most obvious; and where the action is simple and continuous, as in biography, for the most part, or in the narrative of some grand historical event, which concentrates the interest, it is probably the best. But when the story is more complicated, covering a wide field and embracing great variety of incident, the chronological system, however easy for the writer, becomes tedious and unprofitable to the reader. He is hurried along from one scene to another without fully apprehending any; and as the thread of the narrative is perpetually broken by sudden transition, he carries off only such scraps in his memory as it is hardly possible to weave into a connected and consistent whole. Yet this method, as the most simple and natural, is the one most affected by the early writers,—by the old Castilian chroniclers more particularly, who form the

principal authorities in the present work. Their wearisome pages, mindful of no order but that of time, are spread over as miscellaneous a range of incidents, and having as little relation to one another, as the columns of a newspaper.

To avoid this inconvenience, historians of a later period have preferred to conduct their story on more philosophical principles, having regard rather to the nature of the events described than to the precise time of their occurrence. And thus the reader, possessed of one action, its causes and its consequences, before passing on to another, is enabled to treasure up in his memory distinct impressions of the whole.

In conformity to this plan, I have detained the reader in the Netherlands until he had seen the close of Margaret's administration, and the policy which marked the commencement of her successor's. During this period, Spain was at peace with her European neighbors, most of whom were too much occupied with their domestic dissensions to have leisure for foreign war. France, in particular was convulsed by religious feuds, in which Philip, as the champion of the faith, took not only the deepest interest, but an active part. To this I shall return hereafter.

But, while at peace with her Christian brethren, Spain was engaged in perpetual hostilities with the Moslems, both of Africa and Asia. The relations of Europe with the East were altogether different in the sixteenth century from what they are in our day. The Turkish power lay like a dark cloud on the Eastern horizon, to which every eye was turned

with apprehension; and the same people for whose protection European nations are now willing to make common cause were viewed by them, in the sixteenth century, in the light of a common enemy.

It was fortunate for Islamism that, as the standard of the Prophet was falling from the feeble grasp of the Arabs, it was caught up by a nation like the Turks, whose fiery zeal urged them to bear it still onward in the march of victory. The Turks were to the Arabs what the Romans were to the Greeks. Bold, warlike, and ambitious, they had little of that love of art which had been the dominant passion of their predecessors, and still less of that refinement which, with the Arabs, had degenerated into effeminacy and sloth. Their form of government was admirably suited to their character. It was an unmixed despotism. The sovereign, if not precisely invested with the theocratic character of the caliphs, was hedged round with so much sanctity that resistance to his authority was an offence against religion as well as law. He was placed at an immeasurable distance above his subjects. No hereditary aristocracy was allowed to soften the descent and interpose a protecting barrier for the people. All power was derived from the sovereign, and, on the death of its proprietor, returned to him. In the eye of the sultan, his vassals were all equal, and all equally his slaves.

The theory of an absolute government would seem to imply perfection in the head of it. But, as perfection is not the lot of humanity, it was prudently provided by the Turkish constitution

that the sultan should have the benefit of a council to advise him. It consisted of three or four great officers, appointed by himself, with the grand vizier at their head. This functionary was possessed of an authority far exceeding that of the prime minister of any European prince. All the business of state may be said to have passed through his hands. The persons chosen for this high office were usually men of capacity and experience; and in a weak reign they served by their large authority to screen the incapacity of the sovereign from the eyes of his subjects, while they preserved the state from detriment. It might be thought that powers so vast as those bestowed on the vizier might have rendered him formidable, if not dangerous, to his master. But his master was placed as far above him as above the meanest of his subjects. He had unlimited power of life and death; and how little he was troubled with scruples in the exercise of this power is abundantly shown in history. The bow-string was too often the only warrant for the deposition of a minister.

But the most remarkable of the Turkish institutions, the one which may be said to have formed the keystone of the system, was that relating to the Christian population of the empire. Once in five years a general conscription was made, by means of which all the children of Christian parents who had reached the age of seven, and gave promise of excellence in mind or body, were taken from their homes and brought to the capital. They were then removed to different quarters, and placed in seminaries where they might receive such instruction as

would fit them for the duties of life. Those giving greatest promise of strength and endurance were sent to places prepared for them in Asia Minor. Here they were subjected to a severe training, to abstinence, to privations of every kind, and to the strict discipline which should fit them for the profession of a soldier. From this body was formed the famous corps of the janizaries.

Another portion were placed in schools in the capital or the neighboring cities, where, under the eye of the sultan, as it were, they were taught various manly accomplishments, with such a smattering of science as Turkish, or rather Arabian, scholarship could supply. When their education was finished, some went into the sultan's bodyguard, where a splendid provision was made for their maintenance. Others, intended for civil life, entered on a career which might lead to the highest offices in the state.

As all these classes of Christian youths were taken from their parents at that tender age when the doctrines of their own faith could hardly have taken root in their minds, they were without difficulty won over to the faith of the Koran; which was further commended to their choice as the religion of the state, the only one which opened to them the path of preferment. Thus set apart from the rest of the community, and cherished by royal favor, the new converts, as they rallied round the throne of their sovereign, became more stanch in their devotion to his interests, as well as to the interests of the religion they had adopted, than even the Turks themselves.

This singular institution bore hard on the Christian population, who paid this heavy tax of their own offspring. But it worked well for the monarchy, which, acquiring fresh vigor from the constant infusion of new blood into its veins, was slow in exhibiting any signs of decreptitude or decay.

The most important of these various classes was that of the janizaries, whose discipline was far from terminating with the school. Indeed, their whole life may be said to have been passed in war, or in preparation for it. Forbidden to marry, they had no families to engage their affections, which, as with the monks and friars in Christian countries, were concentrated on their own order, whose prosperity was inseparably connected with that of the state. Proud of the privileges which distinguished them from the rest of the army, they seemed desirous to prove their title to them by their thorough discipline and by their promptness to execute the most dangerous and difficult services. Their post was always the post of danger. It was their proud vaunt that they had never fled before an enemy. Clad in their flowing robes, so little suited to the warrior, armed with the arquebuse and the scimitar,—in their hands more than a match for the pike or sword of the European,—with the heron's plume waving above their heads, their dense array might ever be seen bearing down in the thickest of the fight; and more than once, when the fate of the empire trembled in the balance, it was this invincible corps that turned the scale and by their intrepid conduct

decided the fortune of the day. Gathering fresh reputation with age, so long as their discipline remained unimpaired they were a match for the best soldiers of Europe. But in time this admirable organization experienced a change. One sultan allowed them to marry; another, to bring their sons into the corps; a third opened the ranks to Turks as well as Christians; until, forfeiting their peculiar character, the janizaries became confounded with the militia of the empire. These changes occurred in the time of Philip the Second; but their consequences were not fully unfolded till the following century.[1]

It was fortunate for the Turks, considering the unlimited power lodged in the hands of their rulers, that these should have so often been possessed of the courage and capacity for using it for the advancement of the nation. From Othman the first, the founder of the dynasty, to Solyman the Magnificent, the contemporary of Philip, the Turkish throne was filled by a succession of able princes, who, bred to war, were every year enlarging the boundaries of the empire and adding to its resources. By the middle of the sixteenth century, besides their vast possessions in Asia, they held the eastern portions of Africa. In Europe,

[1] For the preceding pages I have been indebted, among other sources, to Sagredo, "Memorias historicas de los Monarcas Othomanos" (trad. Cast., Madrid, 1684), and to Ranke, "Ottoman and Spanish Empires;" to the latter in particular. The work of this eminent scholar, resting as it mainly does on the contemporary reports of the Venetian ministers, is of the most authentic character; while he has the rare talent of selecting facts so significant for historical illustration that they serve the double purpose of both facts and reflections.

together with the countries at this day acknowledging their sceptre, they were masters of Greece; and Solyman, overrunning Transylvania and Hungary, had twice carried his victorious banners up to the walls of Vienna. The battle-ground of the Cross and the Crescent was transferred from the west to the east of Europe; and Germany in the sixteenth century became what Spain and the Pyrenees had been in the eighth, the bulwark of Christendom.

Nor was the power of Turkey on the sea less formidable than on the land. Her fleet rode undisputed mistress of the Levant; for Venice, warned by the memorable defeat at Prevesa in 1538, and by the loss of Cyprus and other territories, hardly ventured to renew the contest. That wily republic found that it was safer to trust to diplomacy than to arms, in her dealings with the Ottomans.

The Turkish navy, sweeping over the Mediterranean, combined with the corsairs of the Barbary coast,—who, to some extent, owed allegiance to the Porte,—and made frequent descents on the coasts of Italy and Spain, committing worse ravages than those of the hurricane. From these ravages France only was exempt; for her princes, with an unscrupulous policy which caused general scandal in Christendom, by an alliance with the Turks, protected her territories somewhat at the expense of her honor.

The northern coast of Africa, at this time, was occupied by various races, who, however they may have differed in other respects, all united in obedi-

ence to the Koran. Among them was a large infusion of Moors descended from the Arab tribes who had once occupied the south of Spain, and who, on its reconquest by the Christians, had fled that country rather than renounce the religion of their fathers. Many even of the Moors then living were among the victims of this religious persecution; and they looked with longing eyes on the beautiful land of their inheritance, and with feelings of unquenchable hatred on the Spaniards who had deprived them of it.

The African shore was studded with towns,—some of them, like Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, having a large extent of territory adjacent,—which owned the sway of some Moslem chief, who ruled them in sovereign state, or, it might be, acknowledging, for the sake of protection, a qualified allegiance to the Sultan. These rude chiefs, profiting by their maritime position, followed the dreadful trade of the corsair. Issuing from their strongholds, they fell on the unprotected merchantman, or, descending on the opposite coasts of Andalusia and Valencia, sacked the villages and swept off the wretched inhabitants into slavery.

The Castilian government did what it could for the protection of its subjects. Fortified posts were established along the shores. Watch-towers were raised on the heights, to give notice of the approach of an enemy. A fleet of galleys, kept constantly on duty, rode off the coasts to intercept the corsairs. The war was occasionally carried into the enemy's country. Expeditions were fitted

out to sweep the Barbary shores or to batter down the strongholds of the pirates. Other states, whose territories bordered on the Mediterranean, joined in these expeditions; among them Tuscany, Rome, Naples, Sicily,—the two last the dependencies of Spain,—and above all Genoa, whose hardy seamen did good service in these maritime wars. To these should be added the Knights of St. John, whose little island of Malta, with its iron defences, boldly bidding defiance to the enemy, was thrown into the jaws, as it were, of the African coast. Pledged by their vows to perpetual war with the infidel, these brave knights, thus stationed on the outposts of Christendom, were the first to sound the alarm of an invasion, as they were foremost to repel it.

The Mediterranean in that day presented a very different spectacle from what it shows at present, —swarming, as it does, with the commerce of many a distant land, and its shores glittering with towns and villages that echo to the sounds of peaceful and protected industry. Long tracts of deserted territory might then be seen on its borders, with the blackened ruins of many a hamlet, proclaiming too plainly the recent presence of the corsair. The condition of the peasantry of the south of Spain, in that day, was not unlike that of our New England ancestors, whose rural labors might at any time be broken by the war-whoop of the savage, as he burst on the peaceful settlement, sweeping off its wretched inmates—those whom he did not massacre—to captivity in the wilderness. The trader, instead of pushing out to sea,

crept timidly along the shore, under the protecting wings of its fortresses, fearful lest the fierce enemy might dart on him unawares and bear him off to the dungeons of Africa. Or, if he ventured out into the open deep, it was under a convoy of well-armed galleys, or, armed to the teeth himself, prepared for war.

Scarcely a day passed without some conflict between Christian and Moslem on the Mediterranean waters. Not unfrequently, instead of a Moor, the command was intrusted to some Christian renegade, who, having renounced his country and his religion for the roving life of a corsair, felt, like most apostates, a keener hatred than even its natural enemies for the land he had abjured.[2] In these encounters there were often displayed, on both sides such deeds of heroism as, had they been performed on a wider theatre of action, would have covered the actors with immortal glory. By this perpetual warfare a race of hardy and experienced seamen was formed in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean; and more than one name rose to eminence for nautical science as well as valor, with which it would not be easy to find a parallel in other quarters of Christendom. Such were the Dorias of Genoa,—a family to whom the ocean seemed their native element, and whose brilliant achievements on its waters, through suc-

[2] Cervantes, in his story of the Captive's adventures in Don Quixote, tells us that it was common with a renegado to obtain a certificate from some of the Christian captives of his desire to return to Spain, so that, if he were taken in arms against his countrymen, his conduct would be set down to compulsion, and he would thus escape the fangs of the Inquisition.

cessive generations, shed an undying lustre on the arms of the republic.

The corsair's life was full of maritime adventure. Many a tale of tragic interest was told of his exploits, and many a sad recital of the sufferings of the Christian captive, tugging at the oar, or pining in the dungeons of Tripoli and Algiers. Such tales formed the burden of the popular minstrelsy of the period, as well as of more elegant literature,—the drama, and romantic fiction. But fact was stranger than fiction. It would have been difficult to exaggerate the number of the Christian captives, or the amount of their sufferings. On the conquest of Tunis by Charles the Fifth, in 1535, ten thousand of these unhappy persons, as we are assured, walked forth from its dungeons, and knelt, with tears of gratitude and joy, at the feet of their liberator. Charitable associations were formed in Spain for the sole purpose of raising funds to ransom the Barbary prisoners. But the ransom demanded was frequently exorbitant, and the efforts of these benevolent fraternities made but a feeble impression on the whole number of captives.

Thus the war between the Cross and the Crescent was still carried on along the shores of the Mediterranean, when the day of the Crusades was past in most of the other quarters of Christendom. The existence of the Spaniard—as I have often had occasion to remark—was one long crusade; and in the sixteenth century he was still doing battle with the infidel as stoutly as in the heroic days of the Cid. The furious contests with

the petty pirates of Barbary engendered in his bosom feelings of even keener hostility than that which grew up in his contests with the Arabs, where there was no skulking, predatory foe, but army was arrayed against army and they fought for the sovereignty of the Peninsula. The feeling of religious hatred rekindled by the Moors of Africa extended in some degree to the Morisco population, who still occupied these territories on the southern borders of the monarchy which had belonged to their ancestors, the Spanish Arabs. This feeling was increased by the suspicion, not altogether without foundation, of a secret correspondence between the Moriscos and their brethren on the Barbary coast. These mingled sentiments of hatred and suspicion sharpened the sword of persecution, and led to most disastrous consequences, which before long will be unfolded to the reader.

Among the African corsairs was one by the name of Dragut, distinguished for his daring spirit and the pestilent activity with which he pursued the commerce of the Spaniards. In early life he had been made prisoner by Andrew Doria; and the four years during which he was chained to the oar in the galleys of Genoa did not serve to mitigate the feelings of hatred which he had always borne to the Christians. On the recovery of his freedom he resumed his desperate trade of a corsair with renewed activity. Having made himself master of Tripoli, he issued out, with his galleys, from that stronghold, fell on the defenceless merchantman, ravaged the coasts, engaged

boldly in fight with the Christian squadrons, and made his name as terrible throughout the Mediterranean as that of Barbarossa had been in the time of Charles the Fifth.

The people of the southern provinces, smarting under their sufferings, had more than once besought Philip to send an expedition against Tripoli, and, if possible, break up this den of thieves and rid the Mediterranean of the formidable corsair. But Philip, who was in the midst of his victorious campaigns against the French, had neither the leisure nor the resources, at that time, for such an enterprise. In the spring of 1559, however, he gave orders to the duke of Medina Celi, viceroy of Sicily, to fit out an armament for the purpose, to obtain the co-operation of the Italian states, and to take command of the expedition.

A worse choice for the command could not have been made; and this not so much from the duke's inexperience; for an apprenticeship to the sea was not deemed necessary to form a naval commander, in an age when men passed indifferently from the land-service to the sea-service. But, with the exception of personal courage, the duke of Medina Celi seems to have possessed none of the qualities requisite in a commander, whether by land or sea.

The different Italian powers—Tuscany, Rome, Naples, Sicily, Genoa—all furnished their respective quotas. John Andrew Doria, nephew of the great Andrew, and worthy of the name he bore, had command of the galleys of the republic. To these was added the reinforcement of the grand

master of Malta. The whole fleet amounted to more than a hundred sail, fifty-four of which were galleys; by much the larger part being furnished by Spain and her Italian provinces. Fourteen thousand troops embarked on board the squadron. So much time was consumed in preparation that the armament was not got ready for sea till late in October, 1559,—too late for acting with advantage on the stormy African coast.

This did not deter the viceroy, who, at the head of the combined fleet, sailed out of the port of Syracuse in November. But the elements conspired against this ill-starred expedition. Scarcely had the squadron left the port when it was assailed by a tempest, which scattered the vessels, disabled some, and did serious damage to others. To add to the calamity, an epidemic broke out among the men, caused by the bad quality of the provisions furnished by the Genoese contractors. In his distress, the duke of Medina Celi put in at the island of Malta. He met with a hospitable reception from the grand master; for hospitality was one of the obligations of the order. Full two months elapsed before the duke was in a condition to reembark, with his force reduced nearly one-third by disease and death.

Meanwhile, Dragut, having ascertained the object of the expedition, had made every effort to put Tripoli in a posture of defence. At the same time he sent to Constantinople, to solicit the aid of Solyman. The Spanish admiral, in the crippled condition of his armament, determined to postpone the attack on Tripoli to another time, and to

direct his operations for the present against the island of Jerbah, or, as it was called by the Spaniards, Gelves. This place, situated scarcely a league from the African shore, in the neighborhood of Tripoli, had long been known as a nest of pirates who did great mischief in the Mediterranean. It was a place of ill omen to the Spaniards, whose arms had met there with a memorable reverse in the reign of Ferdinand the Catholic.[3] The duke, however, landing with his whole force, experienced little resistance from the Moors, and soon made himself master of the place. It was defended by a fortress fallen much out of repair; and, as the Spanish commander proposed to leave a garrison there, he set about restoring the fortifications, or rather constructing new ones. In this work the whole army actively engaged; but nearly two months were consumed before it was finished. The fortress was then mounted with artillery, and provided with ammunition and whatever was necessary for its defence. Finally, a garrrison was introduced into it, and the command intrusted to a gallant officer, Don Alvaro de Sandé.

Scarcely had these arrangements been completed, and the troops prepared to re-embark, when advices reached the duke that a large Turkish fleet was on its way from Constantinople to the assistance of Dragut. The Spanish admiral called a council of war on board of his ship. Opinions were divided. Some, among whom was Doria, considering the crippled condition of their

[3] See the History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. iv. part ii. chap. 21.

squadron, were for making the best of their way back to Sicily. Others, regarding this as a course unworthy of Spaniards, were for standing out to sea and giving battle to the enemy. The duke, perplexed by the opposite opinions, did not come to a decision. He was soon spared the necessity of it by the sight of the Ottoman fleet, under full sail, bearing rapidly down on him. It consisted of eighty-six galleys, each carrying a hundred janizaries; and it was commanded by the Turkish admiral Piali, a name long dreaded in the Mediterranean.

At the sight of this formidable armament the Christians were seized with a panic. They scarcely offered any resistance to the enemy, who, dashing into the midst of them, sent his broadsides to the right and left, sinking some of the ships, disabling others, while those out of reach of his guns shamefully sought safety in flight. Seventeen of the combined squadron were sunk; four-and-twenty, more or less injured, struck their colors; a few succeeded in regaining the island, and took shelter under the guns of the fortress. Medina Celi and Doria were among those who thus made their way to the shore; and under cover of the darkness, on the following night, they effected their escape in a frigate, passing, as by a miracle, without notice, through the enemy's fleet, and thus securing their retreat to Sicily. Never was there a victory more humiliating to the vanquished, or one which reflected less glory on the victors.[4]

[4] Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ix. p. 415, et seq.—Herrera, Historia general, lib. v. cap. 18.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. v. cap. 8. —Sagredo, Monarcas Othomanos, p. 234, et seq.

Before embarking, the duke ordered Sandé to defend the place to the last extremity, promising him speedy assistance. The garrison, thus left to carry on the contest with the whole Turkish army, amounted to about five thousand men; its original strength being considerably augmented by the fugitives from the fleet.

On the following morning, Piali landed with his whole force, and instantly proceeded to open trenches before the citadel. When he had established his batteries of cannon, he sent a summons to the garrison to surrended. Sandé returned for answer that, "if the place were won, it would not be, like Piali's late victory, without bloodshed." The Turkish commander waited no longer, but opened a lively cannonade on the ramparts, which he continued for some days, till a practicable breach was made. He then ordered a general assault. The janizaries rushed forward with their usual impetuosity, under a murderous discharge of artillery and small arms from the fortress as well as from the shipping, which was so situated as to support the fire of the besieged. Nothing daunted, the brave Moslems pushed forward over the bodies of their fallen comrades; and, scrambling across the ditch, the leading files succeeded in throwing themselves into the breach. But here they met with a spirit as determined as their own, from the iron array of warriors, armed with pike and arquebuse, who, with Sandé at their head, formed a wall as impenetrable as the ramparts of the fortress. The contest was now carried on man against man, and in a space too narrow to

allow the enemy to profit by his superior numbers. The besieged, meanwhile, from the battlements, hurled down missiles of every description on the heads of the assailants. The struggle lasted for some hours. But Spanish valor triumphed in the end, and the enemy was driven back in disorder across the moat, while his rear files were sorely galled, in his retreat, by the incessant fire of the fortress.

Incensed by the failure of his attack and the slaughter of his brave followers, Piali thought it prudent to wait till he should be reinforced by the arrival of Dragut with a fresh supply of men and of battering-ordinance. The besieged profited by the interval to repair their works, and when Dragut appeared they were nearly as well prepared for the contest as before.

On the corsair's arrival, Piali, provided with a heavier battering-train, opened a more effective fire on the citadel. The works soon gave way, and the Turkish commander promptly returned to the assault. It was conducted with the same spirit, was met with the same desperate courage, and ended, like the former, in the total discomfiture of the assailants, who withdrew, leaving the fosse choked up with the bodies of their slaughtered comrades. Again and again the attack was renewed, by an enemy whose numbers allowed the storming-parties to relieve one another, while the breaches made by an unintermitting cannonade gave incessant occupation to the besieged in repairing them. Fortunately, the number of the latter enabled them to perform this difficult ser-

vice; and though many were disabled, and there were few who were not wounded, they still continued to stand to their posts, with the same spirit as on the first day of the siege.

But the amount of the garrison, so serviceable in this point of view, was fatal in another. The fortress had been provisioned with reference to a much smaller force. The increased number of mouths was thus doing the work of the enemy. Notwithstanding the strictest economy, there was already a scarcity of provisions; and at the end of six weeks the garrison was left entirely without food. The water too had failed. A soldier had communicated to the Spanish commander an ingenious process for distilling fresh water from salt.[5] This afforded a most important supply, though in a very limited quantity. But the wood which furnished the fuel necessary for the process was at length exhausted, and to hunger was added the intolerable misery of thirst.

Thus reduced to extremity, the brave Sandé was not reduced to despair. Calling his men together, he told them that liberty was of more value than life. Anything was better than to surrender to such an enemy. And he proposed to them to sally from the fortress that very night, and cut their way, if possible, through the Turkish army, or fall in the attempt. The Spaniards heartily responded to the call of their heroic leader. They

[5] "Halló Don Alvaro un remedio para la falta del agua que en parte ayudó á la necessidad, y fué, que uno de su campo le mostró, que el agua salada se podia destilar por alambique, y aunque salió buena, y se bevia, no se hazia tanta que bastasse, y se gastava mucha leña, de que tenian falta." Herrera, Historia general, tom. i. p. 434.

felt, like him, that the doom of slavery was more terrible than death.

That night, or rather two hours before dawn on the twenty-ninth of June, Don Alvaro sallied out of the fortress, at the head of all those who were capable of bearing arms. But they amounted to scarcely more than a thousand men, so greatly had the garrison been diminished by death or disabled by famine and disease. Under cover of the darkness, they succeeded in passing through the triple row of intrenchments without alarming the slumbering enemy. At length, roused by the cries of their sentinels, the Turks sprang to their arms, and, gathering in dark masses round the Christians, presented an impenetrable barrier to their advance. The contest now became furious; but it was short. The heroic little band were too much enfeebled by their long fatigues, and by the total want of food for the last two days, to make head against the overwhelming number of their assailants. Many fell under the Turkish scimitars, and the rest, after a fierce struggle, were forced back on the path by which they had come, and took refuge in the fort. Their dauntless leader, refusing to yield, succeeded in cutting his way through the enemy, and threw himself into one of the vessels in the port. Here he was speedily followed by such a throng as threatened to sink the bark and made resistance hopeless. Yielding up his sword, therefore, he was taken prisoner, and led off in triumph to the tent of the Turkish commander.

On the same day the remainder of the garrison,

unable to endure another assault, surrendered at discretion. Piali had now accomplished the object of the expedition; and, having re-established the Moorish authorities in possession of the place, he embarked, with his whole army, for Constantinople. The tidings of his victory had preceded him; and, as he proudly sailed up the Bosphorus, he was greeted with thunders of artillery from the seraglio and the heights surrounding the capital. First came the Turkish galleys, in beautiful order, with the banners taken from the Christians ignominously trailing behind them through the water. Then followed their prizes,—the seventeen vessels taken in the action,—the battered condition of which formed a striking contrast to that of their conquerors. But the prize greater than all was the prisoners, amounting to nearly four thousand, who, manacled like so many malefactors, were speedily landed, and driven through the streets, amidst the shouts and hootings of the populace, to the slave-market of Constantinople. A few only, of the higher order, were reserved for ransom. Among them were Don Alvaro de Sandé and a son of Medina Celi. The young nobleman did not long survive his captivity. Don Alvaro recovered his freedom, and lived to take ample vengeance for all he had suffered on his conquerors.[6]

[6] For the account of the heroic defence of Gelves, see—and reconcile, if the reader can—Herrera, ubi supra; Ferreras, Hist, d'Espagne, tom. ix. pp. 416–421; Leti, Filippo II., tom. i. pp. 349–352; Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. v. cap. 11, 12; Campana, Vita di Filippo II., par. ii. lib. 12; Sagredo, Monarcas Othomanos, p. 237, et seq.—Sepulveda, De Rebus gestis Philippi II., pp. 63–87.

Such was the end of the disastrous expedition against Tripoli, which left a stain on the Spanish arms that even the brave conduct of the garrison at Gelves could not wholly wipe away. The Moors were greatly elated by the discomfiture of their enemies; and the Spaniards were filled with a proportionate degree of despondency, as they reflected to what extent their coasts and their commerce would be exposed to the predatory incursions of the corsairs. Philip was especially anxious in regard to the safety of his possessions on the African coast. The two principal of these were Oran and Mazarquivir, situated not far to the west of Algiers. They were the conquests of Cardinal Ximenes. The former place was won by an expedition fitted out at his own expense. The enterprises of this remarkable man were conducted on a gigantic scale, which might seem better suited to the revenues of princes. Of the two places Oran was the more considerable; yet hardly more important than Mazarquivir, which possessed an excellent harbor,—a thing of rare occurrence on the Barbary shore. Both had been cherished with care by the Castilian government, and by no monarch more than by Philip the Second, who perfectly understood the importance of these possessions, both for the advantages of a commodious harbor, and for the means they gave him of bridling the audacity of the African cruisers.[7]

In 1562, the king ordered a squadron of four-

[7] "Questa sola utilità ne cava il Re di quei luoghi per conservatione de' quali spende ogni anno gran somma di denari delle sue entrate." Relatione de Soriano, 1560, MS.

and-twenty galleys, under the command of Don Juan de Mendoza, to be got ready in the port of Malaga, to carry supplies to the African colonies. But in crossing the Mediterranean the ships were assailed by a furious tempest, which compelled them to take refuge in the little port of Herradura. The fury of the storm, however, continued to increase; and the vessels, while riding at anchor, dashed one against another with such violence that many of them foundered, and others, parting their cables, drifted on shore, which was covered far and wide with the dismal wrecks. Two or three only, standing out to sea and braving the hurricane on the deep, were so fortunate as to escape. By this frightful shipwreck, four thousand men, including their commander, were swallowed up by the waves. The southern provinces were filled with consternation at this new calamity, coming so soon after the defeat at Gelves. It seemed as if the hand of Providence was lifted against them in their wars with the Mussulmans.[8]

The Barbary Moors, encouraged by the losses of the Spanish navy, thought this a favorable time for recovering their ancient possessions on the coast. Hassem, the dey of Algiers, in particular, a warlike prince, who had been engaged in more than one successful encounter with the Christians, set on foot an expedition against the territories of Oran and Mazarquivir. The government of these places was intrusted, at that time, to Don Alonzo de Córdova, count of Alcaudete. In this post he

[8] Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ix. p. 426.—Sepulveda, De Rebus gestis Philippi II., p. 90.

had succeeded his father, a gallant soldier, who, five years before, had been slain in battle by this very Hassem, the lord of Algiers. Eight thousand Spaniards had fallen with him on the field, or had been made prisoners of war.[9] Such were the sad auspices under which the reign of Philip the Second began, in his wars with the Moslems.[10]

Oran, at this time, was garrisoned by seventeen hundred men; and twenty-seven pieces of artillery were mounted on its walls. Its fortifications were in good repair; but it was in no condition to stand a siege by so formidable a force as that which Hassem was mustering in Algiers. The count of Alcaudete, the governor, a soldier worthy of the illustrious stock from which he sprang, lost no time in placing both Oran and Mazarquivir in the best state of defence which his means allowed, and in acquainting Philip with the peril in which he stood.

[9] The details of the battle were given, in a letter dated September 5th, 1558, by Don Alonzo to the king. His father fell, it seems, in an attempt to rescue his younger son from the hands of the enemy. Though the father died, the son was saved. It was the same Don Martin de Córdova who so stoutly defended Mazarquivir against Hassem afterwards, as mentioned in the text. Carta de Don Alonso de Córdova al Rey, de Toledo, MS.

[10] The tidings of this sad disaster, according to Cabrera, hastened the death of Charles the Fifth (Filipe Segundo, lib. iv. cap. 13). But a letter from the imperial secretary, Gaztelu, informs us that care was taken that the tidings should not reach the ear of his dying master: "La muerte del conde de Alcaudete y su desbarato se entendió aqui por carta de Dn Alonso su hijo que despachó un correo desde Toledo con la nueva y por ser tan ruyn y estar S. Magd. en tal disposicion no se le dixo, y se tendra cuydado de que tampoco la sepa hasta que plazca á Dios esté libre; porque no sé yo si hay ninguno en cuyo tiempo haya sucedido tan gran desgracia como esta." Carta de Martin de Gaztelu al Secretario Molina, de Yuste, Set. 12, 1558, MS.—The original of this letter, like that of the preceding, is in the Archives of Simancas.

Meanwhile, the Algerine chief was going briskly forward with his preparations. Besides his own vassals, he summoned to his aid the petty princes of the neighboring country; and in a short time he had assembled a host in which Moors, Arabs, and Turks were promiscuously mingled, and which, in the various estimates of the Spaniards, rose from fifty to a hundred thousand men.

Little reliance can be placed on the numerical estimates of the Spaniards in their wars with the infidel. The gross exaggeration of the numbers brought by the enemy into the field, and the numbers he was sure to leave there, with the corresponding diminution of their own in both particulars, would seem to infer that in these religious wars they thought some miracle was necessary to show that Heaven was on their side, and the greater the miracle the greater the glory. This hyperbolical tone, characteristic of the old Spaniards, and said to have been imported from the East, is particularly visible in the accounts of their struggles with the Spanish Arabs, where large masses were brought into the field on both sides, and where the reports of a battle took indeed the coloring of an Arabian tale. The same taint of exaggeration, though somewhat mitigated, continued to a much later period, and may be observed in the reports of the contests with the Moslems, whether Turks or Moors, in the sixteenth century.

On the fifteenth of March, 1563, Hassem left Algiers, at the head of his somewhat miscellaneous array, sending his battering-train of artillery

round by water, to meet him at the port of Mazarquivir. He proposed to begin by the siege of this place, which, while it would afford a convenient harbor for his navy, would, by its commanding position, facilitate the conquest of Oran. Leaving a strong body of men, therefore, for the investment of the latter, he continued his march on Mazarquivir, situated at only two leagues' distance. The defence of this place was intrusted by Alcaudete to his brother, Don Martin de Córdova. Its fortifications were in good condition, and garnished with near thirty pieces of artillery. It was garrisoned by five hundred men, was well provided with ammunition, and was victualled for a two months' siege. It was also protected by a detached fort, called St. Michael, built by the count of Alcaudete, and, from its commanding position, now destined to be the first object of attack. The fort was occupied by a few hundred Spaniards, who, as it was of great moment to gain time for the arrival of succors from Spain, were ordered to maintain it to the last extremity.

Hassem was not long in opening trenches. Impatient, however, of the delay of his fleet, which was detained by the weather, he determined not to wait for the artillery, but to attempt to carry the fort by escalade. In this attempt, though conducted with spirit, he met with so decided a repulse that he abandoned the project of further operations till the arrival of his ships. No sooner did this take place than, landing his heavy guns, he got them into position as speedily as possible, and

opened a lively cannonade on the walls of the fortress. The walls were of no great strength. A breach was speedily made; and Hassem gave orders for the assault.

No sooner was the signal given than Moor, Turk, Arab,—the various races in whose veins glowed the hot blood of the south,—sprang impetuously forward. In vain the leading files, as they came on, were swept away by the artillery of the fortress, while the guns of Mazarquivir did equal execution on their flank. The tide rushed on, with an enthusiasm that overleaped every obstacle. Each man seemed emulous of his comrade, as if desirous to show the superiority of his own tribe or race. The ditch, choked up with the *débris* of the rampart and the fascines that had been thrown into it, was speedily crossed; and while some sprang fearlessly into the breach, others endeavored to scale the walls. But everywhere they were met by men as fresh for action as themselves, and possessed of a spirit as intrepid. The battle raged along the parapet, and in the breach, where the struggle was deadliest. It was the old battle, so often fought, of the Crescent and the Cross, the fiery African and the cool, indomitable European. Arquebuse and pike, sabre and scimitar, clashed fearfully against each other; while high above the din rose the war-cries of "Allah!" and "St. Jago!" showing the creeds and countries of the combatants.

At one time it seemed as if the enthusiasm of the Moslems would prevail; and twice the standard of the Crescent was planted on the walls.

But it was speedily torn down by the garrison, and the bold adventurers who had planted it thrown headlong into the moat.

Meanwhile, an incessant fire of musketry was kept up from the ramparts; and hand-grenades, mingled with barrels of burning pitch, were hurled down on the heads of the assailants, whose confusion was increased as their sight was blinded by the clouds of smoke which rose from the fascines that had taken fire in the ditch. But, although their efforts began to slacken, they were soon encouraged by fresh detachments sent to their support by Hassem, and the fight was renewed with redoubled fury. These efforts, however, proved equally ineffectual. The Moors were driven back on all points; and, giving way before the invincible courage of the Spaniards, they withdrew in such disorder across the fosse, now bridged over with the bodies of the slain, that, if the garrison had been strong enough in numbers, they might have followed the foe to his trenches and inflicted such a blow as would at once have terminated the siege. As it was, the loss of the enemy was fearful; while that of the Spaniards, screened by their defences, was comparatively light. Yet a hundred lives of the former, so overwhelming were their numbers, were of less account than a single life among the latter. The heads of fifty Turks, who had fallen in the breach or in the ditch, were cut off, as we are told, by the garrison, and sent, as the grisly trophies of their victory, to Oran;[11] showing the feelings of bitter hatred—perhaps of

[11] Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 10.

fear—with which this people was regarded by the Christians.

The Moorish chief, chafing under this loss, reopened his fire on the fortress with greater fury than ever. He then renewed the assault, but with no better success. A third and a fourth time he returned to the attack, but in vain. In vain, too, Hassem madly tore off his turban, and, brandishing his scimitar, with imprecations on his men, drove them forward to the fight. There was no lack of spirit in his followers, who poured out their blood like water. But it could not shake the constancy of the Spaniards, which seemed even to grow stronger as their situation became more desperate; and as their defences were swept away, they threw themselves on their knees, and from behind the ruins still poured down their volleys of musketry on the assailants.

Yet they could not have maintained their ground so long, but for a seasonable reinforcement received from Mazarquivir. But, however high the spirit, there is a limit to the powers of endurance; and the strength of the garrison was rapidly giving way under incessant vigils and want of food. Their fortifications, moreover, pierced through and through by the enemy's shot, were no longer tenable; and a mine, which Hassem was now prepared to run under the ramparts, would complete the work of destruction. They had obeyed their orders, and stood to their defence gallantly to the last; and they now obtained leave to abandon the fort. On the seventh of May, after having sustained eight assaults and a siege of three weeks

from a host so superior to them in numbers, the garrison marched out of the fortress of St. Michael. Under cover of the guns of Mazarquivir, they succeeded in rejoining their comrades there with but little loss, and were gladly welcomed by their commander, Don Martin de Córdova, who rendered them the honor due to their heroic conduct. That same day Hassem took possession of the fortress. He found only a heap of ruins.[12]

The Moorish prince, stung, with mortification at the price he had paid for his victory, and anxious, moreover, to anticipate the arrival of succors from Spain, now eagerly pressed forward the siege of Mazarquivir. With the assistance of his squadron, the place was closely invested by sea and land. Batteries of heavy guns were raised on opposite sides of the castle; and for ten days they thundered, without interruption, on its devoted walls. When these had been so far shaken as to afford an opening to the besiegers, Hassem, willing to spare the further sacrifice of his men, sent a summons to Don Martin to surrender, intimating, at the same time, that the works were in too ruinous a condition to be defended. To this the Spaniard coolly replied that, "if they were in such a condition, Hassem might come and take them."

[12] For this siege, the particulars of which are given in a manner sufficiently confused by most of the writers, see Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ix. p. 431, et seq.; Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 10; Sepulveda, De Rebus gestis Philippi II., p. 94; Salazar de Mendoza, Monarquia de España (Madrid, 1770), tom. ii. p. 127; Miniana, Historia de España, pp. 341, 342; Caro de Torres, Historia de las Ordenes militares, fol. 154.

On the signal from their chief, the Moors moved rapidly forward to the attack, and were soon brought face to face with their enemy. A bloody conflict followed, in the breach and on the ramparts. It continued more than five hours. The assailants found they had men of the same mettle to deal with as before, and with defences yet stronger than those they had encountered in the fortress of St. Michael. Here again the ardor of the African proved no match for the cool and steady courage of the European; and Hassem's forces, repulsed on every quarter, withdrew in so mangled a condition to their trenches that he was in no state for several days to renew the assault.[13]

It would be tedious to rehearse the operations of a siege so closely resembling in its details that of the fortress of St. Michael. The most conspicuous figure in the bloody drama was the commander of the garrison, Don Martin de Córdova. Freely exposing himself to hardship and danger with the meanest of his followers, he succeeded in infusing his own unconquerable spirit into their bosoms. On the eve of an assault he might be seen passing through the ranks with a crucifix in his hand, exhorting his men, by the blessed sign of their redemption, to do their duty, and assuring them of the protection of Heaven.[14] Every soldier, kindling with the enthusiasm of his leader, looked on himself as a soldier of the Cross, and

[13] According to Cabrera (Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 12), two thousand infidels fell on this occasion, and only ten Christians; a fair proportion for a Christian historian to allow. *Ex uno*, etc.

[14] Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ix. p. 455.

felt assured that the shield of the Almighty must be stretched over those who were thus fighting the battles of the Faith. The women caught somewhat of the same generous ardor, and, instead of confining themselves to the feminine occupations of nursing the sick and the wounded, took an active part in the duties of the soldiers and helped to lighten their labors.

Still, the condition of the garrison became daily more precarious, as their strength diminished and their defences crumbled around them under the incessant fire of the besiegers. The count of Alcaudete in vain endeavord to come to their relief, or at least to effect a diversion in their favor. Sallying out of Oran, he had more than one sharp encounter with the enemy. But the odds against him were too great; and, though he spread carnage among the Moslem ranks, he could ill afford the sacrifice of life that it cost him. In the mean time, the two garrisons were assailed by an enemy from within, more inexorable than the enemy at their gates. Famine had begun to show itself in some of its hideous forms. They were already reduced to the necessity of devouring the flesh of their horses and asses;[15] and even that was doled out so scantily as too plainly intimated that this sustenance, wretched as it was, was soon to fail them. Under these circumstances, their spirits would have sunk, had they not been sustained by the expectation of succor from Spain; and they cast many a wistful glance on the Mediterranean, straining their eyes to the farthest verge of the

[15] Campana, Vita di Filippo II., tom. ii. p. 138.

horizon, to see if they could not descry some friendly sail upon the waters.

But Philip was not unmindful of them. Independently of the importance of the posts, he felt his honor to be deeply concerned in the protection of the brave men who were battling there for the cause not merely of Castile, but of Christendom. No sooner had he been advised by Alcaudete of the peril in which he stood than he gave orders that a fleet should be equipped to go to his relief. But such orders, in the disabled condition of the navy, were more easily given than executed. Still, efforts were made to assemble an armament and get it ready in the shortest possible time. Even the vessels employed to convoy the India galleons were pressed into the service. The young cavaliers of the southern provinces eagerly embarked as volunteers in an expedition which accorded them an opportunity for avenging the insults offered to the Spanish arms. The other states bordering on the Mediterranean, which had, in fact, almost as deep an interest in the cause as Spain herself, promptly furnished their contingents. To these were to be added, as usual, the galleys of the Knights of Malta, always foremost to unfurl the banner in a war with the infidel. In less than two months an armament consisting of forty-two large galleys, besides smaller vessels, well manned and abundantly supplied with provisions and military stores, was assembled in the port of Malaga. It was placed under the command of Don Antonio de Mendoza, who, on the sixth of June, weighed anchor and steered directly for the Barbary coast.

On the morning of the eighth, at early dawn, the sentinels on the ramparts of Mazarquivir descried the fleet like a dark speck on the distant waters. As it drew nearer, and the rising sun, glancing on the flag of Castile, showed that the long-promised succor was at hand, the exhausted garrison, almost on the brink of despair, gave themselves up to a delirium of joy. They embraced one another, like men rescued from a terrible fate, and, with swelling hearts, offered up thanksgivings to the Almighty for their deliverance. Soon the cannon of Mazarquivir proclaimed the glad tidings to the garrison of Oran, who replied from their battlements in thunders which carried dismay into the hearts of the besiegers. If Hassem had any doubt of the cause of these rejoicings, it was soon dispelled by several Moorish vessels, which, scudding before the enemy, like the smaller birds before the eagle, brought report that a Spanish fleet under full sail was standing for Mazarquivir.

No time was to be lost. He commanded his ships lying in the harbor to slip their cables and make the best of their way to Algiers. Orders were given at once to raise the siege. Everything was abandoned. Whatever could be of service to the enemy was destroyed. Hassem caused his guns to be overcharged, and blew them to pieces.[16] He disencumbered himself of whatever might retard his movements, and, without further delay, began his retreat.

No sooner did Alcaudete descry the army of the

[16] Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ix. p. 461.

besiegers on its march across the hills than he sallied out, at the head of his cavalry, to annoy them on their retreat. He was soon joined by his brother from Mazarquivir, with such of the garrison as were in condition for service. But the enemy had greatly the start of them. When the Spaniards came up with his rear-guard, they found it entirely composed of janizaries; and this valiant corps, maintaining its usual discipline, faced about and opposed so determined a front to the assailants that Alcaudete, not caring to risk the advantages he had already gained, drew off his men and left a free passage to the enemy. The soldiers of the two garrisons now mingled together and congratulated one another on their happy deliverance, recounting their exploits and the perils and privations they had endured; while Alcaudete, embracing his heroic brother, could hardly restrain his tears as he gazed on his wan, emaciated countenance and read there the story of his sufferings.

The tidings of the repulse of the Moslems were received with unbounded joy throughout Spain The deepest sympathy had been felt for the brave men who, planted on the outposts of the empire, seemed to have been abandoned to their fate. The king shared in the public sentiment, and showed his sense of the gallant conduct of Alcaudete and his soldiers by the honors and emoluments he bestowed on them. That nobleman, besides the grant of a large annual revenue, was made viceroy of Navarre. His brother, Don Martin de Córdova, received the *encomienda* of Hornachos, with the sum of six thousand ducats. Officers of inferior rank

obtained the recompense due to their merits. Even the common soldiers were not forgotten; and the government, with politic liberality, settled pensions on the wives and children of those who had perished in the siege.[17]

Philip now determined to follow up his success; and, instead of confining himself to the defensive, he prepared to carry the war into the enemy's country. His first care, however, was to restore the fortifications of Mazarquivir, which soon rose from their ruins in greater strength and solidity than before. He then projected an expedition against Peñon de Velez de la Gomera, a place situated to the west of his own possessions on the Barbary coast. It was a rocky island-fortress, which from the great strength of its defences, as well as from its natural position, was deemed impregnable. It was held by a fierce corsair, whose name had long been terrible in these seas. In the summer of 1564, the king, with the aid of his allies, got together a powerful armament and sent it at once against Peñon de Velez. This fortress did not make the resistance to have been expected; and, after a siege of scarcely a week's duration,

[17] Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ix. p. 442, et seq.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 13.—Campana, Vita di Filippo II., tom. i. pp. 137–139.—Herrera, Hist. general, lib. x. cap. 4.—The last historian closes his account of the siege of Mazarquivir with the following not inelegant and certainly not parsimonious tribute to the heroic conduct of Don Martin and his followers. "Despues de noventa y dos dias que sostuvo este terrible cerco, y se embarcó para España, quedando para siempre glorioso con los soldados que con el se hallaron, ellos por aver sido tan obedientes, y por las hazañas que hizieron, y el por el valor y prudencia con que los governó: por lo qual es comparado á qualquiera de los mayores Capitanes del mundo." Historia general, lib. x. cap. 4.

the garrison submitted to the superior valor—or numbers—of the Christians.[18]

This conquest was followed up, the ensuing year, by an expedition under Don Alvaro Bazan, the first marquis of Santa Cruz,—a name memorable in the naval annals of Castile. The object of the expedition was to block up the entrance to the river Tetuan, in the neighborhood of the late conquest. The banks of this river had long been the refuge of a horde of pestilent marauders, who, swarming out of its mouth, spread over the Mediterranean and fell heavily on the commerce of the Christians. Don Alvaro accomplished his object in the face of a desperate enemy, and, after some hard fighting, succeeded in sinking nine brigantines laden with stones in the mouth of the river, and thus effectually obstructed its navigation.[19]

These brilliant successes caused universal rejoicing through Spain and the neighboring countries. They were especially important for the influence they exerted on the spirits of the Christians, depressed as these had been by a long series of maritime reverses. The Spaniards resumed their ancient confidence as they saw that victory had once more returned to their banner; and their ships, which had glided like spectres under the shadow of the coast, now losing their apprehen-

[18] Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 18.—Herrera, Hist. general, tom. i. p. 559, et seq.

[19] The affair of the Rio de Tetuan is given at length in the despatches of Don Alvaro Bazan, dated at Ceuta, March 10th, 1565. The correspondence of this commander is still preserved in the family archives of the marquis of Santa Cruz, from which the copies in my possession were taken.

sions of the corsair, pushed boldly out upon the deep. The Moslems, on the other hand, as they beheld their navies discomfited and one strong place after another wrested from their grasp, lost heart, and for a time, at least, were in no condition for active enterprise.

But, while the arms of Spain were thus successful in chastising the Barbary corsairs, rumors reached the country of hostile preparations going forward in the East, of a more formidable character than any on the shores of Africa. The object of these preparations was not Spain itself, but Malta. Yet this little island, the bulwark of Christendom, was so intimately connected with the fortunes of Spain that an account of its memorable siege can hardly be deemed an episode in the history of Philip the Second.

CHAPTER II

THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS OF ST. JOHN

Masters of Rhodes—Driven from Rhodes—Established at Malta—Menaced by Solyman—La Valette—His Preparations for Defence

1565

THE order of the Knights of Malta traces its origin to a remote period,—to the time of the first crusade, in the eleventh century.* A religious association was then formed in Palestine, under the title of Hospitallers of St. John the Baptist, the object of which, as the name imports, was to minister to the wants of the sick. There was a good harvest of these among the poor pilgrims who wandered from all parts of Europe to the Holy Land. It was not long before the society assumed other duties, of a military nature, designed

* [The origin of the order really antedates the Crusades. In 1023 some merchants of Amalfi obtained permission from the Mohammedan ruler of Egypt to establish, at Jerusalem, a hospital for "poor and sick Latin pilgrims." From its foundation the hospital accomplished an immense amount of good, and at the taking of Jerusalem by Godfrey and his associates during the first crusade, the services of its members were invaluable. Many knights then sought to be enrolled under its banner, and a semi-military organization necessarily followed. In 1113 pope Paschal II., formally sanctioned the order by a bull. From the siege of Malta until the French Revolution its fortunes varied. When the Revolution began it was wonderfully prosperous, but, largely through the incapacity of the grand master, it lost its power, and in 1798 Malta fell into the possession of Bonaparte. After the Revolution its fortunes improved somewhat. The order still exists, though its constitution has been completely changed. Nomination to its grand mastership is now vested in the pope.—M.]

for the defence of the pilgrim no less than his relief; and the new society, under the name of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John, besides the usual monastic vows, pledged themselves to defend the Holy Sepulchre and to maintain perpetual war against the infidel.[1]

In its new form, so consonant with the spirit of the age, the institution found favor with the bold crusaders, and the accession of members from different parts of Christendom greatly enlarged its power and political consequence. It soon rivalled the fraternity of the Templars, and, like that body, became one of the principal pillars of the throne of Jerusalem. After the fall of that kingdom and the expulsion of the Christians from Palestine, the Knights of St. John remained a short while in Cyprus, when they succeeded in conquering Rhodes from the Turks, and thus secured to themselves a permanent residence.

Placed in the undisputed sovereignty of this little island, the Knights of Rhodes, as they were now usually called, found themselves on a new and independent theatre of action, where they could display all the resources of their institutions and accomplish their glorious destinies. Thrown into the midst of the Mussulmans, on the borders of the Ottoman Empire, their sword was never in the scabbard. Their galleys spread over the Levant, and, whether alone or with the Venetians,—the rivals of the Turks in those seas,—they faithfully

[1] Helyot, Hist. des Ordres religieux et militaires (Paris, 1792, 4to), tom. iii. pp. 74–78.—Vertot, History of the Knights of Malta (Eng. trans., London, 1728, fol.), vol. ii. pp. 18–24.

fulfilled their vow of incessant war with the infidel. Every week saw their victorious galleys returning to port with the rich prizes taken from the enemy; and every year the fraternity received fresh accessions of princes and nobles from every part of Christendom, eager to obtain admission into so illustrious an order. Many of these were possessed of large estates, which, on their admission, were absorbed in those of the community. Their manors, scattered over Europe, far exceeded in number those of their rivals, the Templars, in their most palmy state.[2] And on the suppression of that order, such of its vast possessions as were not seized by the rapacious princes in whose territories they were lodged were suffered to pass into the hands of the Knights of St. John. The commanderies of the latter—those conventual establishments which faithfully reflected the parent institution in their discipline—were so prudently administered that a large surplus from their revenues was annually remitted to enrich the treasury of the order.

The government of this chivalrous fraternity, as provided by the statutes which formed its written constitution, was in its nature aristocratical. At the head was the grand master, elected by the knights from their own body, and, like the doge of Venice, holding his office for life, with an authority scarcely larger than that of this dignitary. The legislative and judicial functions were vested

[2] Boisgelin, on the authority of Matthew Paris, says that in 1224 the Knights of St. John had 19,000 manors in different parts of Europe, while the Templars had but 9000. Ancient and Modern Malta (London, 1805, 4to), vol. ii. p. 19.

in councils, in which the grand master enjoyed no higher privilege than that of a double vote. But his patronage was extensive, for he had the nomination to the most important offices, both at home and abroad. The variety and high-sounding titles of these offices may provoke a smile in the reader, who might fancy himself occupied with the concerns of a great empire, rather than those of a little brotherhood of monks. The grand master, indeed, in his manner of living, affected the state of a sovereign prince. He sent his ambassadors to the principal European courts; and a rank was conceded to him next to that of crowned heads,—above that of any ducal potentate.[3]

He was enabled to maintain this position by the wealth which, from the sources already enumerated, flowed into the exchequer. Great sums were spent in placing the island in the best state of defence, in constructing public works, palaces for the grand master, and ample accommodations for the various *languages*,—a technical term, denoting the classification of the members according to their respective nations; finally, in the embellishment of the capital, which vied in the splendor of its architecture with the finest cities of Christendom.

Yet, with this show of pomp and magnificence, the Knights of Rhodes did not sink into the enervating luxury which was charged on the Templars, nor did they engage in those worldly ambitious schemes which provoked the jealousy of princes

[3] For an account of the institutions of the order of St. John, see Helyot, Ordres religieux, tom. ii. p. 58, et seq.; also the Old and New Statutes, appended to vol. ii. of Vertot's History of the Knights of Malta.

and brought ruin on that proud order. In prosperity, as in poverty, they were still true to the principles of their institution. Their galleys still spread over the Levant, and came back victorious from their *caravans*, as their cruises against the Moslems were termed. In every enterprise set on foot by the Christian powers against the enemies of the Faith, the red banner of St. John, with its eight-pointed cross of white,* was still to be seen glittering in the front of battle. There is no example of a military institution having religion for its object which, under every change of condition and for so many centuries, maintained so inflexibly the purity of its principles and so conscientiously devoted itself to the great object for which it was created.

It was not to be expected that a mighty power, like that of the Turks, would patiently endure the existence of a petty enemy on its borders, which, if not formidable from extent of population and empire, like Venice, was even more annoying by its incessant hostilities and its depredations on the Turkish commerce. More than one sultan, accordingly, hoping to rid themselves of the annoyance, fitted out expeditions against the island, with the design of crushing the hornets in their nest. But in every attempt they were foiled by the valor of this little band of Christian chivalry. At length, in 1522, Solyman the Sublime led an expedition in person against Rhodes. For six months the brave knights, with their own good swords,

* [Known to us as the "Maltese cross," because of the fame which the defence of the island of Malta brought to its wearers.—M.]

unaided by a single European power, withstood the whole array of the Ottoman Empire; and when at length forced to surrender, they obtained such honorable terms from Solyman as showed he knew how to respect valor, though in a Christian foe.

Once more without a home, the Knights of St. John were abroad on the world. The European princes, affecting to consider the order as now extinct, prepared to confiscate whatever possessions it had in their several dominions. From this ruin it was saved by the exertions of L'Isle Adam, the grand master, who showed, at this crisis, as much skill in diplomacy as he had before shown prowess in the field. He visited the principal courts in person, and by his insinuating address, as well as arguments, not only turned the sovereigns from their purpose, but secured effectual aid for his unfortunate brethren. The pope offered them a temporary asylum in the papal territory; and Charles the Fifth was induced to cede to the order the island of Malta and its dependencies, with entire jurisdiction over them, for their permanent residence.

Malta, which had been annexed by Charles's predecessors to Sicily, had descended to that monarch as part of the domininons of the crown of Aragon. In thus ceding it to the Knights of St. John the politic prince consulted his own interests quite as much as those of the order. He drew no revenue from the rocky isle, but, on the contrary, was charged with its defence against the Moorish corsairs, who made frequent descents on the spot, wasting the country and dragging off the miser-

able people into slavery. By this transfer of the island to the military order of St. John he not only relieved himself of all further expense on its account, but secured a permanent bulwark for the protection of his own dominions.

It was wise in the emperor to consent that the gift should be burdened with no other condition than the annual payment of a falcon in token of his feudal supremacy. It was also stipulated that the order should at no time bear arms against Sicily; a stipulation hardly necessary with men who, by their vows, were pledged to fight in defence of Christendom, and not against it.[4]

In October, 1530, L'Isle Adam and his brave associates took possession of their new domain. Their hearts sank within them as their eyes wandered over the rocky expanse, forming a sad contrast to the beautiful "land of roses" which had so long been their abode.[5] But it was not very long before the wilderness before them was to blossom like the rose, under their diligent culture.[6]

[4] The original deed of cession, in Latin, is published by Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. ii. p. 157, et seq.

[5] "Rhodes," from the Greek ῥόδον. The origin of the name is referred by etymologists to the great quantity of roses which grew wild on the island. The name of *Malta* (*Melita*) is traced to the wild honey, μέλι, of most excellent flavor, found among its rocks.

[6] A recent traveller, after visiting both Rhodes and Malta, thus alludes to the change in the relative condition of the two islands: "We are told that, when L'Isle Adam and his brave companions first landed on this shore, their spirits sank within them at the contrast its dry and barren surface presented to their delicious lost Rhodes; I have qualified myself for adjudging that in most respects the tables are now turned between the two islands, and they certainly afford a very decisive criterion of the results of Turkish and Christian dominion." The Earl of Carlisle's Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters (Boston, 1855), p. 204;—an unpretending volume, which bears on every page evidence of the wise and tolerant spirit,

Lupil & Cº Paris

Earth was brought in large quantities, and at great cost, from Sicily. Terraces to receive it were hewn in the steep sides of the rock; and the soil, quickened by the ardent sun of Malta, was soon clothed with the glowing vegetation of the South. Still, it did not raise the grain necessary for the consumption of the island. This was regularly imported from Sicily, and stored in large pits or caverns, excavated in the rock, which, hermetically closed, preserved their contents unimpaired for years. In a short time, too, the island bristled with fortifications, which, combined with its natural defences, enabled its garrison to defy the attacks of the corsair. To these works was added the construction of suitable dwellings for the accommodation of the order. But it was long after, and not until the land had been desolated by the siege on which we are now to enter, that it was crowned with the stately edifices that eclipsed those of Rhodes itself, and made Malta the pride of the Mediterranean.[7]

the various scholarship, and the sensibility to the beautiful, so characteristic of its noble author.

[7] For the account of Malta I am much indebted to Boisgelin, "Ancient and Modern Malta." This work gives the most complete view of Malta, both in regard to the natural history of the island and the military and political history of the order, that is to be found in any book with which I am acquainted. It is a large repository of facts crudely put together, with little to boast of on the score of its literary execution. It is interesting as the production of a Knight of St. John, one of the unhappy few who survived to witness the treachery of his brethren and the extinction of his order.* The last of the line, he may well be pardoned if, in his survey of the glorious past, he should now and then sound the trumpet of glorification somewhat too loudly.

* [The order still exists, and nomination to its grand mastership is vested in the pope.—M.]

In their new position the knights were not very differently situated from what they had been in the Levant. They were still encamped among the infidel, with the watch-fires of the enemy blazing around them. Again their galleys sailed forth to battle with the corsairs and returned laden with the spoils of victory. Still the white cross of St. John was to be seen in the post of danger. In all the expeditions of Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second against the Barbary Moors, from the siege of Tunis to the capture of Peáon de Velez, they bore a prominent part. With the bravery of the soldier they combined the skill of the mariner; and on that disastrous day when the Christian navy was scattered before Algiers, the Maltese galleys were among the few that rode out the tempest.[8] It was not long before the name of the Knights of Malta became as formidable on the southern shores of the Mediterranean as that of the Knights of Rhodes had been in the East.

Occasionally their galleys, sweeping by the mouth of the Adriatic, passed into the Levant and boldly encountered their old enemy on his own seas, even with odds greatly against them.[9] The Moors of the Barbary coast, smarting under the losses inflicted on them by their indefatigable foe, more than once besought the Sultan to come to

[8] "The galleys of the order alone resisted the fury of the waves; and when Charles the Fifth was told that some vessels appeared still to live at sea, he exclaimed, 'They must indeed be Maltese galleys which can outride such a tempest!' The high opinion he had formed of this fleet was fully justified; for the standard of the order was soon in sight." Boisgelin, Ancient and Modern Malta, vol. ii. p. 34.

[9] Ibid., p. 61, et alibi.

their aid and avenge the insults offered to his religion on the heads of the offenders. At this juncture occurred the capture of a Turkish galleon in the Levant. It was a huge vessel, richly laden, and defended by twenty guns and two hundred janizaries. After a desperate action, she was taken by the Maltese galleys, and borne off, a welcome prize, to the island. She belonged to the chief eunuch of the imperial harem, some of the fair inmates of which were said to have had interest in the precious freight.[10] These persons now joined with the Moors in the demand for vengeance. Solyman shared in the general indignation at the insult offered to him under the walls, as it were, of his own capital; and he resolved to signalize the close of his reign by driving the knights from Malta, as he had the commencement of it by driving them from Rhodes.

As it was not improbable that the Christian princes would rally in support of an order which had fought so many battles for Christendom, Solyman made his preparations on a formidable scale. Rumors of these spread far and wide; and, as their object was unknown, the great powers on the Mediterranean, each fancying that its own dominions might be the point of attack, lost no time in placing their coasts in a state of defence. The

[10] The value of the freight was estimated at more than 80,000 ducats: "Se estimo la presa mas de ochenta mil ducados, de sedas de levante, y alombras y otras cosas, cada uno piense lo que se diria en la corte del Turco, sobre la perdida desta nave tan poderosa, y tan rica." La verdadera Relacion de todo lo que el Año de M. D. LXV. ha succedido en la Isla de Malta, por Francisco Balbi de Correggio, en todo, el Sitio Soldado (Barcelona, 1568), fol. 19.

king of Spain sent orders to his viceroy in Sicily to equip such a fleet as would secure the safety of that island.

Meanwhile, the grand master of Malta, by means of spies whom he secretly employed in Constantinople, received intelligence of the real purpose of the expedition. The post of grand master, at this time, was held by Jean Parisot de la Valette, a man whose extraordinary character, no less than the circumstances in which he was placed, has secured him an imperishable name on the page of history. He was of an ancient family from the south of France, being of the *language* of Provence. He was now in the sixty-eighth year of his age.[11] In his youth he had witnessed the memorable siege of Rhodes, and had passed successively through every post in the order, from the humblest to the highest, which he now occupied. With large experience he combined a singular discretion, and an inflexible spirit, founded on entire devotion to the great cause in which he was engaged. It was the conviction of this self-devotion which, in part at least, may have given La Valette that ascendency over the minds of his brethren which was so important at a crisis like the present. It may have been the anticipation of such a crisis that led to his election as grand master in 1557, when the darkness coming over the waters showed the necessity of an experienced pilot to weather the storm.

No sooner had the grand master learned the true destination of the Turkish armament than he sent his emissaries to the different Christian

[11] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 17.

powers, soliciting aid for the order in its extremity. He summoned the knights absent in foreign lands to return to Malta and take part with their brethren in the coming struggle. He imported large supplies of provisions and military stores from Sicily and Spain. He drilled the militia of the island, and formed an effective body of more than three thousand men; to which was added a still greater number of Spanish and Italian troops, raised for him by the knights who were abroad. This force was augmented by the extraordinary addition of five hundred galley-slaves whom La Valette withdrew from the oar, promising to give them their freedom if they served him faithfully. Lastly, the fortifications were put in repair, strengthened with outworks, and placed in the best condition for resisting the enemy. All classes of the inhabitants joined in this work. The knights themselves took their part in the toilsome drudgery; and the grand master did not disdain to labor with the humblest of his followers. He not only directed, but, as hands were wanted, he set the example of carrying his own orders into execution. Wherever his presence was needed, he was to be found,—ministering to the sick, cheering the desponding, stimulating the indifferent, chiding the dilatory, watching over the interests of the little community intrusted to his care with parental solicitude.

While thus employed, La Valette received a visit from the Sicilian viceroy, Don Garcia de Toledo, the conqueror of Peñon de Velez. He came, by Philip's orders, to concert with the grand

master the best means of defence. He assured the latter that so soon as he had assembled a fleet he would come to his relief; and he left his natural son with him, to learn the art of war under so experienced a commander. La Valette was comforted by the viceroy's promises of succor. But he well knew that it was not to the promises of others he was to trust, in his present exigency, but to his own efforts and those of his brave companions.

The knights, in obedience to his call, had for the most part now arrived, each bringing with him a number of servants and other followers. Some few of the more aged and infirm remained behind; but this not so much from infirmity and age as from the importance of having some of its members to watch over the interests of the community at foreign courts. La Valette was touched by the alacrity with which his brethren repaired to their posts, to stand by their order in the dark hour of its fortunes. He tenderly embraced them; and soon afterwards, calling them together, he discoursed with them on the perilous position in which they stood, with the whole strength of the Moorish and Turkish empires mustering against them. "It was the great battle of the Cross and the Koran," he said, "that was now to be fought. They were the chosen soldiers of the Cross; and, if Heaven required the sacrifice of their lives, there could be no better time than this glorious occasion." The grand master then led the way to the chapel of the convent, where he and his brethren, after devoutly confessing, partook of

the sacrament, and, at the foot of the altar, solemnly renewed their vows to defend the Church against the infidel. With minds exalted by these spiritual exercises, all worldly interests seemed from that moment, says their historian, to lose their hold on their affections. They stood like a company of martyrs,—the forlorn hope of Christendom, prepared, as their chief had said, to offer up their lives a sacrifice to the great cause in which they were engaged. Such were the feelings with which La Valette and his companions, having completed their preparations, now calmly awaited the coming of the enemy.[12]

[12] Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. ii. pp. 192–195.—Sagredo, Monarcas Othomanos, p. 244.—Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 26, et seq.—Boisgelin, Ancient and Modern Malta, vol. ii. pp. 71–73.—De Thou, Hist. universelle, tom. v. pp. 51–53.—J. M. Calderon de la Barca, Gloriosa Defensa de Malta (Madrid, 1796), p. 28.

CHAPTER III

SIEGE OF MALTA

Condition of Malta—Arrival of the Turks—They reconnoitre the Island—Siege of St. Elmo—Its Heroic Defence—Its Fall

1565

BEFORE entering on the particulars of this memorable siege, it will be necessary to make the reader somewhat acquainted with the country which was the scene of operations. The island of Malta is about seventeen miles long and nine broad. At the time of the siege it contained some twelve thousand inhabitants, exclusive of the members of the order. They were gathered, for the most part, into wretched towns and villages, the principal one of which was defended by a wall of some strength and was dignified with the title of Civita Notable, "Illustrious City." As it was situated in the interior, near the centre of the island, the knights did not take up their residence there, but preferred the northeastern part of Malta, looking towards Sicily and affording a commodious harbor for their galleys.

The formation of the land in this quarter is very remarkable. A narrow, rocky promontory stretches out into the Mediterranean, dividing its waters into two small gulfs,—that on the west being called *Marza Musiette*, or Port Musiette,

and that towards the east, which now bears the name of Valetta harbor, being then known as the Great Port. The extreme point of the promontory was crowned by the castle of St. Elmo, built by the order, soon after its arrival in the island, on the spot which commanded the entrance into both harbors. It was a fortress of considerable strength, for which it was chiefly indebted to its position. Planted on the solid rock, and washed, for the greater part of its circuit, by the waters of the Mediterranean, it needed no other defence on that quarter. But towards the land it was more open to an enemy; and, though protected by a dry ditch and a counterscarp, it was thought necessary to secure it still further by means of a ravelin on the southwest, which La Valette had scarcely completed before the arrival of the Turks.

Port Musiette, on the west, is that in which vessels now perform quarantine. The Great Port was the most important; for round that was gathered the little community of knights. Its entrance, which is not more than a quarter of a mile in width, is commanded by two headlands, one of them crested, as above mentioned, by the fort of St. Elmo. The length of the harbor may be nearly two miles; and the water is of sufficient depth for ships of the greatest burden to ride there in security, sheltered within the encircling arms of the coast from the storms of the Mediterranean.

From the eastern side of this basin shoot out two projecting headlands, forming smaller harbors within the Great Port. The most northerly of these strips of land was defended by the castle

of St. Angelo, round which clustered a little town, called by way of eminence *Il Borgo*, "The Burgh,"—now more proudly styled "The Victorious City." It was here that the order took up its residence,—the grand masters establishing themselves in the castle; and great pains were taken to put the latter in a good state of defence, while the town was protected by a wall. On the parallel strip of land, known as the island of La Sangle, from a grand master of that name, stood a fort, called the fort of St. Michael, with a straggling population gathered around it, now busily employed in strengthening the defences. Between the two headlands lay the Port of Galleys, serving, as its name imports, as a haven for the little navy of the order. This port was made more secure by an iron chain drawn across its entrance, from the extreme point of one headland to the other.

Such were the works constructed by the knights in the brief period during which they had occupied the island. They were so far imperfect that many a commanding eminence, which the security of the country required to be strongly fortified, still remained as naked and exposed as at the time of their arrival. This imperfect state of its defences presented a strong contrast to the present condition of Malta, bristling all over with fortifications, which seem to form part of the living rock out of which they spring, and which, in the hands of a power that holds possession of the sea, might bid defiance to the world.

The whole force which La Valette could muster

in defence of the island amounted to about nine thousand men. This included seven hundred knights, of whom about six hundred had already arrived. The remainder were on their way, and joined him at a later period of the siege. Between three and four thousand were Maltese, irregularly trained, but who had already gained some experience of war in their contests with the Barbary corsairs. The rest of the army, with the exception of five hundred galley-slaves, already noticed, and the personal followers of the knights, was made up of levies from Spain and Italy, who had come over to aid in the defence. The useless part of the population—the infirm and the aged—had for the most part been shipped off to Sicily. There still remained, however, numbers of women and children, and the former, displaying the heroic constancy which in times of trouble so often distinguishes the sex, did good service during the siege, by tending the sick and by cheering the flagging spirits of the soldier.[1]

This little army La Valette distributed on the several stations, assigning each to some one of the *languages*, or nations, that the spirit of emulation might work its effects on the chivalry of the order. The castle of St. Elmo was the point of first importance. It covered so contracted a piece of ground that it scarcely afforded accommodation

[1] Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. ii. p. 197.—Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 28.—The latter chronicler, who gives a catalogue of the forces, makes the total amount of fighting-men not exceed six thousand one hundred. He speaks, however, of an indefinite number besides these, including a thousand slaves, who in various ways contributed to the defence of the island.

for a thousand men; and not more than eight hundred were shut up within its walls at the commencement of the siege.[2] Its dimensions did not admit of its being provided with magazines capable of holding any large quantity of provisions or military stores, for which it was unfortunately obliged to rely on its communication with Il Borgo, the town across the harbor. The masonry of the fort was not in the best repute; though the works were lined with at least thirty pieces of artillery, looking chiefly towards the land. Its garrison, which usually amounted to sixty soldiers, was under the command of an aged knight, named De Broglio. The grand master reinforced this body with sixty knights under the bailiff of Negropont, a veteran in whose well-tried valor La Valette placed entire confidence. He was strengthened by two companies of foreign levies, under the command of a Spanish cavalier named La Cerda.[3]

Various other points were held by small detachments, with some one of the order at the head of each. But the strength of the force, including nearly all of the remainder of the knights, was posted in the castle of St. Angelo and in the town at its base. Here La Valette took his own station, as the spot which by its central position would enable him to watch over the interests of the whole. All was bustle in this quarter, as the people were busily employed in strengthening the defences of

[2] "De modo que quãdo los turcos llegaron sobre sant Ermo, hauia ochocientos hombres dentro para pelear." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 37.

[3] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 31.—Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. ii. p. 198.

the town, and in razing buildings in the suburbs, which the grand master feared might afford a lodgement to the enemy. In this work their labors were aided by a thousand slaves, taken from the prison, and chained together in couples.[4]

On the morning of the eighteenth of May, 1565, the Turkish fleet was descried by the sentinels of St. Elmo and St. Angelo, about thirty miles to the eastward, standing directly for Malta. A gun, the signal agreed on, was fired from each of the forts, to warn the inhabitants of the country to withdraw into their villages. The fleet amounted to one hundred and thirty royal galleys, with fifty of lesser size, besides a number of transports with the cannon, ammunition, and other military stores.[5] The breaching-artillery consisted of sixty-three guns, the smallest of which threw a ball of fifty-six pounds, and some few, termed *basilicas*, carried marble bullets of a hundred and twelve pounds' weight.[6] The Turks were celebrated for the enormous calibre of their guns, from a very early period; and they continued to employ those pieces long after they had given way, in the rest of Europe, to cannon of more moderate and manageable dimensions.

[4] "En este tiempo ya todos los esclauos assi de sant Juan como de particulares estauan en la carcel, que seriã bien mil esclauos. Y quando los sacauan a trabajar a las postas adonde se trabajaua, los sacauan de dos en dos, asidos de vna cadena." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 37.

[5] Ibid., fol. 23.

[6] Ibid., fol. 21.—Vertot says, of a hundred and sixty pounds' weight (Knights of Malta, vol. ii. p. 202). Yet even this was far surpassed by the mammoth cannon employed by Mahomet at the siege of Constantinople, in the preceding century, which, according to Gibbon, threw stone bullets of six hundred pounds.

The number of soldiers on board, independently of the mariners, and including six thousand janizaries, was about thirty thousand,—the flower of the Ottoman army.[7] Their appointments were on the most perfect scale, and everything was provided requisite for the prosecution of the siege. Never, probably, had there been seen so magnificent an armament in the waters of the Mediterranean. It was evident that Solyman was bent on the extermination of the order which he had once driven into exile, but which had now renewed its strength and become the most formidable enemy of the Crescent.

The command of the expedition was intrusted to two officers. One of these, Piali, was the same admiral who defeated the Spaniards at Gelves. He had the direction of the naval operations. The land-forces were given to Mustapha, a veteran nearly seventy years of age, whose great experience, combined with military talents of a high order, had raised him to the head of his profession. Unfortunately, his merits as an officer were tarnished by his cruelty. Besides the command of the army, he had a general authority over the whole expedition, which excited the jealousy of Piali, who thought himself injured by the preference given to his rival. Thus feelings of mutual distrust arose in the bosoms of the two chiefs, which to some extent paralyzed the operations of each.

[7] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 26.—The old soldier goes into the composition of the Turkish force, in the general estimate of which he does not differ widely from Vertot.

The Turkish armada steered for the southeastern quarter of the island, and cast anchor in the port of St. Thomas. The troops speedily disembarked, and spread themselves in detached bodies over the land, devastating the country, and falling on all stragglers whom they met in the fields. Mustapha, with the main body of the army, marching a short distance into the interior, occupied a rising ground only a few miles from Il Borgo. It was with difficulty that the inhabitants could be prevented from issuing from the gates, in order to gaze on the show presented by the invaders, whose magnificent array stretched far beyond the hills, with their bright arms and banners glittering in the sun, and their warlike music breathing notes of defiance to the Christians. La Valette, in his turn, caused the standard of St. John to be unfurled from the ramparts of the castle, and his trumpets to answer in a similar strain of defiance to that of the enemy.[8]

Meanwhile, the grand marshal, Coppier, had sallied from the town at the head of a small troop and fallen upon some of the detachments which were scouring the country. The success of his arms was shown by the gory heads of the slaughtered Turks, which he sent back to Il Borgo as the trophies of victory.[9] La Valette's design in permitting these encounters was to familiarize his men with the novel aspect and peculiar weapons of their enemies, as well as the fierce war-cries which the Turks raised in battle. But the advan-

[8] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 34.
[9] Ibid, ubi upra.

tages gained in these skirmishes did not compensate the losses, however light, on the part of the Christians; and after two knights and a number of the common file had been slain, the grand master ordered his followers to remain quietly within the walls of the town.

It was decided, in the Turkish council of war, to begin operations with the siege of the castle of St. Elmo, as the possession of this place was necessary to secure a safe harbor for the Turkish fleet. On the twenty-fourth of May the trenches were opened,—if that can be said where, from the rocky, impenetrable nature of the ground, no trenches could be dug, and the besiegers were obliged to shelter themselves behind a breastwork formed of planks, having the space between them filled with earth brought from a distance, and held together by straw and rushes. At certain intervals Mustapha indicated the points for batteries. The principal of these was a battery where ten guns were mounted, some of them of the largest calibre; and although artillery-practice was very different from what it is in our times, with so much greater experience and more manageable engines, yet masonry stronger than that of St. Elmo might well have crumbled under the masses of stone and iron that were now hurled against it.

As the works began to give way, it seemed clear that the garrison must rely more on their own strength than on that of their defences. It was resolved, therefore, to send to the grand master and request reinforcements. The Chevalier de la Cerda was intrusted with the mission. Crossing

over to Il Borgo, he presented himself before La Valette and insisted on the necessity of further support if the fort was to be maintained against the infidel. The grand master listened, with a displeasure which he could not conceal, to this application for aid so early in the siege, especially as it was made in the presence of many of the knights, who might well be disheartened by it. He coldly asked La Cerda what loss the garrison had suffered. The knight, evading the question, replied that St. Elmo was in the condition of a sick man who requires the aid of the physician. "I will be the physician," said La Valette, "and will bring such aid that, if I cannot cure your fears, I may at least hope to save the place from falling into the hands of the enemy." So impressed was he with the importance of maintaining this post to the last extremity, if it were only to gain time for the Sicilian succors, that he was prepared, as he said, to throw himself into the fortress, and, if need were, to bury himself in its ruins.

From this desperate resolution he was dissuaded by the unanimous voice of the knights, who represented to him that it was not the duty of the commander-in-chief to expose himself like a common soldier and take his place in the forlorn hope. The grand master saw the justice of these remonstrances; and, as the knights contended with one another for the honor of assuming the post of danger, he allowed fifty of the order, together with two companies of soldiers, to return with La Cerda to the fort. The reinforcement was placed under

command of the Chevalier de Medrano, a gallant soldier, on whose constancy and courage La Valette knew he could rely. Before his departure, the strength of the force was increased by the arrival of several knights from Sicily, who obtained the grand master's leave to share the fortunes of their brethren in St. Elmo. The troops were sent across the harbor, together with supplies of food and ammunition, in open boats, under cover of a heavy fire from the guns of St. Angelo. A shot happened to fall on a stone near the trenches, in which Piali, the Turkish admiral, was standing; and, a splinter striking him on the head, he was severely, though not mortally, wounded. La Valette took advantage of the confusion created by this incident to despatch a galley to Sicily, to quicken the operations of the viceroy and obtain from him the promised succors. To this Don Garcia de Toledo replied by an assurance that he should come to his relief by the middle of June.[10]

It was now the beginning of that month. Scarcely had Medrano entered St. Elmo when he headed a sally against the Turks, slew many in the trenches, and put the remainder to flight. But they soon returned in such overwhelming force as compelled the Christians to retreat and take refuge within their works. Unfortunately, the smoke of the musketry, borne along by a southerly breeze, drifted in the direction of the castle; and under cover of it the Turks succeeded in getting

[10] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 37, et seq.—Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. ii. pp. 200–202.—Calderon, Gloriosa Defensa de Malta, p. 42.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 24.

possession of the counterscarp. As the smoke cleared away, the garrison were greatly dismayed at seeing the Moslem standard planted on their own defences. It was in vain they made every effort to recover them. The assailants, speedily intrenching themselves behind a parapet formed of gabions, fascines, and wool-sacks, established a permanent lodgement on the counterscarp.

From this point they kept up a lively discharge of musketry on the ravelin, killing such of its defenders as ventured to show themselves. An untoward event soon put them in possession of the ravelin itself. A Turkish engineer, reconnoitring that outwork from the counterscarp, is said to have perceived a sentinel asleep on his post. He gave notice to his countrymen; and a party of janizaries succeeded, by means of their ladders, in scaling the walls of the ravelin. The guard, though few in number and taken by surprise, still endeavored to maintain the place. A sharp skirmish ensued. But the Turks, speedily reinforced by their comrades, who flocked to their support, overpowered the Christians and forced them to give way. Some few succeeded in effecting their retreat into the castle. The janizaries followed close on the fugitives. For a moment it seemed as if Moslem and Christian would both be hurried along by the tide of battle into the fort itself. But fortunately the bailiff of Negropont, Medrano, and some other cavaliers, heading their followers, threw themselves on the enemy and checked the pursuit. A desperate struggle ensued, in which science was of no avail, and victory waited on the

strongest. In the end the janizaries were forced to retreat in their turn. Every inch of ground was contested; until the Turks, pressed hard by their adversaries, fell back into the ravelin, where, with the aid of their comrades, they made a resolute stand against the Christians. Two cannon of the fortress were now brought to bear on the outwork. But, though their volleys told with murderous effect, the Turks threw themselves into the midst of the fire, and fearlessly toiled, until, by means of gabions, sand-bags, and other materials, they had built up a parapet which secured them from annoyance. All further contest was rendered useless; and the knights, abandoning this important outwork to the assailants, sullenly withdrew into the fortress.[11]

While this was going on, a fresh body of Turks, bursting into the ditch through a breach in the counterscarp, endeavored to carry the fortress by escalade. Fortunately, their ladders were too short; and the garrison, plying them with volleys of musketry, poured down at the same time such a torrent of missiles on their heads as soon strewed the ditch with mangled limbs and carcases. At this moment a party, sallying from the fort, fell on the enemy with great slaughter, and drove

[11] In Vertot's account of this affair, much is said of a nondescript outwork, termed a *cavalier*,—conveying a different idea from what is understood by that word in modern fortifications. It stood without the walls, and was connected with the ravelin by a bridge, the possession of which was hotly contested by the combatants. Balbi, the Spanish soldier, so often quoted,—one of the actors in the siege, though stationed at the fort of St. Michael,—speaks of the fight as being carried on in the ditch. His account has the merit of being at once the briefest and the most intelligible.

them—such as were in condition to fly—back into their trenches.

The engagement, brought on, as we have seen, by accident, lasted several hours. The loss of the Turks greatly exceeded that of the garrison, which amounted to less than a hundred men, twenty of whom were members of the order. But the greatest loss of the besieged was that of the counterscarp and ravelin. Thus shorn of its outworks, the castle of St. Elmo stood like some bare and solitary trunk exposed to all the fury of the tempest.[12]

The loss of the ravelin gave the deepest concern to La Valette, which was not mitigated by the consideration that it was to be charged, in part at least, on the negligence of its defenders. It made him the more solicitous to provide for the security of the castle; and he sent his boats over to remove the wounded and replace them by an equal number of able-bodied knights and soldiers. It was his intention that the garrison should not be encumbered with any who were unable to assist in the defence. Among the new recruits was the Chevalier de Miranda, —one of the most illustrious members of the order, who had lately arrived from Sicily,—a soldier whose personal authority, combined with great military knowledge, proved eminently useful to the garrison.

[12] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 40, 41.—Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. ii. pp. 203–205.—Calderon, Gloriosa Defensa de Malta, p. 48, et seq.—Sagredo, Monarcas Othomanos, p. 245.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 24.—Herrera, Historia general, lib. xii. cap. 4.

The loss which the besiegers had sustained in the late encounter was more than counterbalanced by the arrival, at this time, of Dragut, the famous pasha of Tripoli, with thirteen Moorish galleys. He was welcomed by salvos of artillery and the general rejoicing of the army; and this not so much on account of the reinforcement which he brought—the want of which was not then felt—as of his reputation; for he was no less celebrated as an engineer than as a naval commander. The sultan, who had the highest opinion of his merits, had ordered his generals to show him the greatest deference; and they at once advised with him as to the best means of prosecuting the siege. The effect of his counsel was soon seen in the more judicious and efficient measures that were adopted. A battery of four culverins was established on the western headland commanding the entrance of Port Musiette. It was designed to operate on the western flank of the fortress; and the point of land on which it stood is still known by the name of the redoubtable corsair.

Another battery, much more formidable from the number and size of the pieces, was raised on an eminence to the south of St. Elmo, and played both upon that fort and upon the castle of St. Angelo. The counterscarp of the former fortress was shaved away, so as to allow a free range to the artillery of the besiegers;[13] and two cannon were planted on the ravelin, which directed a searching fire on the interior of the fortress, compelling the garrison to shelter themselves behind

[13] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 39.

intrenchments constructed under the direction of Miranda.[14]

The artillery of the Turks now opened with dreadful effect, as they concentrated their fire on the naked walls of St. Elmo. No masonry could long withstand the tempest of iron and ponderous marble shot which was hurled from the gigantic engines of the besiegers. Fragments of the wall fell off as if it had been made of plaster; and St. Elmo trembled to its foundations under the thunders of the terrible ordnance. The heart of the stoutest warrior might well have faltered as he saw the rents each day growing wider and wider, as if gaping to give entrance to the fierce multitude that was swarming at the gates.

In this extremity, with the garrison wasted by the constant firing of the enemy, worn down by excessive toil, many of the knights wounded, all of them harassed by long-protracted vigils, it was natural that the greater part should feel they had done all that duty required of them, and that without loss of honor they might retire from a post that was no longer tenable. They accordingly resolved to apply to the grand master to send his boats at once to transport them and the rest of the garrison to Il Borgo. The person whom they chose for the mission was the Chevalier de Medrano, who, as La Valette would know, was not likely to exaggerate the difficulties of their situation.

[14] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 39–42.—Calderon, Gloriosa Defensa de Malta, p. 46.—De Thou, Hist. universelle, tom. v. p. 58.—Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. ii. p. 204.—Miniana, Hist. de España, p. 350.

Medrano accordingly crossed the harbor, and, in an interview with the grand master, explained the purpose of his visit. He spoke of the dilapidated state of the fortifications, and dwelt on the forlorn condition of the garrison, which was only to be sustained by constant reinforcements from Il Borgo. But this was merely another mode of consuming the strength of the order. It would be better, therefore, instead of prolonging a desperate defence, which must end in the ruin of the defenders, to remove them at once to the town, where they could make common cause with their brethren against the enemy.

La Valette listened attentively to Medrano's arguments, which were well deserving of consideration. But, as the affair was of the last importance to the interests of his little community, he chose to lay it before the council of *Grand Crosses*, —men who filled the highest stations in the order. They were unanimously of the same opinion as Medrano. Not so was La Valette. He felt that with the maintenance of St. Elmo was connected the very existence of the order. The viceroy of Sicily, he told his brethren, had declared that if this strong post were in the hands of the enemy he would not hazard his master's fleet there to save the island. And, next to their own good swords, it was on the Sicilian succors that they must rely. The knights must maintain the post at all hazards. The viceroy could not abandon them in their need. He himself would not desert them. He would keep them well supplied with whatever was required for their defence, and, if necessary, would

go over and take the command in person, and make good the place against the infidel, or die in the breach.

The elder knights, on learning the grand master's decision, declared their resolution to abide by it. They knew how lightly he held his life in comparison with the cause to which it was consecrated; and they avowed their determination to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of the post intrusted to them. The younger brethren were not so easily reconciled to the decision of their superiors. To remain there longer was a wanton sacrifice of life, they said. They were penned up in the fort, like sheep, tamely waiting to be devoured by the fierce wolves that were thirsting for their blood. This they could not endure; and, if the grand master did not send to take them off at once, they would sally out against the enemy and find an honorable death on the field of battle. A letter signed by fifty of the knights, expressing their determination, was accordingly despatched by one of their number to Il Borgo.

La Valette received the communication with feelings in which sorrow was mingled with indignation. It was not enough, he said, for them to die the honorable death which they so much coveted. They must die in the manner he prescribed. They were bound to obey his commands. He reminded them of the vows taken at the time of their profession, and the obligation of every loyal knight to sacrifice his life, if necessary, for the good of the order. Nor would they gain anything, he added, by abandoning their post and

returning to the town. The Turkish army would soon be at its gates, and the viceroy of Sicily would leave them to their fate.

That he might not appear, however, to pass too lightly by their remonstrances, La Valette determined to send three commissioners to inspect St. Elmo and report on its condition. This would at least have the advantage of gaining time, when every hour gained was of importance. He also sent to Sicily to remonstrate on the tardiness of the viceroy's movements, and to urge the necessity of immediate succors if he would save the castle.

The commissioners were received with joy by the refractory knights, whom they found so intent on their departure that they were already beginning to throw the shot into the wells, to prevent its falling into the hands of the Turks. They eagerly showed the commissioners every part of the works, the ruinous condition of which, indeed, spoke more forcibly than the murmurs of the garrison. Two of the body adopted the views of the disaffected party, and pronounced the fort no longer tenable. But the third, an Italian cavalier, named Castriot, was of a different way of thinking. The fortifications, he admitted, were in a bad state, but it was far from a desperate one. With fresh troops and the materials that could be furnished from the town, they might soon be put in condition to hold out for some time longer. Such an opinion, so boldly avowed, in opposition to the complaints of the knights, touched their honor. A hot dispute arose between the parties; and evil consequences might have ensued, had not

the commander, De Broglio, and the bailiff of Negropont, to stop the tumult, caused the alarm-bell to be rung, which sent every knight to his post.

Castriot, on his return, made a similar report to the grand master, and boldly offered to make good his words. If La Valette would allow him to muster a force, he would pass over to St. Elmo and put it in condition still to hold out against the Ottoman arms.

La Valette readily assented to a proposal which he may perhaps have originally suggested. No compulsion was to be used in a service of so much danger. But volunteers speedily came forward, knights, soldiers, and inhabitants of both town and country. The only difficulty was in making the selection. All eagerly contended for the glory of being enrolled in this little band of heroes.

La Valette was cheered by the exhibition of this generous spirit in his followers. It gave assurance of success stronger than was to be derived from any foreign aid. He wrote at once to the discontented knights in St. Elmo and informed them of what had been done. Their petition was now granted. They should be relieved that very evening. They had only to resign their posts to their successors. "Return, my brethren," he concluded, "to the convent. There you will be safe for the present; and I shall have less apprehension for the fate of the fortress, on which the preservation of the island so much depends."

The knights, who had received some intimation

of the course the affair was taking in Il Borgo, were greatly disconcerted by it. To surrender to others the post committed to their own keeping would be a dishonor they could not endure. When the letter of the grand master arrived, their mortification was extreme; and it was not diminished by the cool and cutting contempt but thinly veiled under a show of solicitude for their personal safety. They implored the bailiff of Negropont to write in their name to La Valette and beseech him not to subject them to such a disgrace. They avowed their penitence for the course they had taken, and only asked that they might now be allowed to give such proofs of devotion to the cause as should atone for their errors.

The letter was despatched by a swimmer across the harbor. But the grand master coldly answered that veterans without subordination were in his eyes of less worth than raw recruits who submitted to discipline. The wretchedness of the knights at this repulse was unspeakable; for in their eyes dishonor was far worse than death. In their extremity they addressed themselves again to La Valette, renewing their protestations of sorrow for the past, and in humble terms requesting his forgiveness. The chief felt that he had pushed the matter far enough. It was perhaps the point to which he had intended to bring it. It would not be well to drive his followers to despair. He felt now that they might be trusted. He accordingly dismissed the levies, retaining only a part of these brave men to reinforce the garrison; and

with them he sent supplies of ammunition, and materials for repairing the battered works.[15]

During this time the Turkish commander was pressing the siege with vigor. Day and night the batteries thundered on the ramparts of the devoted fortress. The ditch was strewed with fragments torn from the walls by the iron tempest; and a yawning chasm, which had been gradually opening on the southwestern side of the castle, showed that a practicable breach was at length effected. The uncommon vivacity with which the guns played through the whole of the fifteenth of June, and the false alarms with which the garrison was harassed on the following night, led to the belief that a general assault was immediately intended. The supposition was correct. On the sixteenth, at dawn, the whole force of the besiegers was under arms. The appointed signal was given by the discharge of a cannon; when a numerous body of janizaries, formed into column, moved swiftly forward to storm the great breach of the castle.

Meanwhile, the Ottoman fleet, having left its anchorage on the eastern side of the island, had moved round, and now lay off the mouth of the Great Port, where its heavy guns were soon brought to bear on the seaward side of St. Elmo. The battery on Point Dragut opened on the west-

[15] For the preceding pages, setting forth the embassies to La Valette, and exhibiting in such bold relief the character of the grand master, I have been chiefly indebted to Vertot (Knights of Malta, vol. ii. pp. 309–312). The same story is told, more concisely, by Calderon, Gloriosa Defensa de Malta, pp. 60–67; Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 25; De Thou, Hist. universelle, tom. v. p. 61; Campana, Filippo Secondo, par. ii. p. 159; Balbi, Verdada Relacion, fol. 44, 45.

ern flank of the fortress, and four thousand musketeers in the trenches swept the breach with showers of bullets, and picked off those of the garrison who showed their heads above the parapet.

The guns of the besieged, during this time, were not idle. They boldly answered the cannonade of the vessels; and on the land-side the play of artillery and musketry was incessant. The besieged now concentrated their aim on the formidable body of janizaries, who, as already noticed, were hurrying forward to the assault. Their leading files were mowed down, and their flank cruelly torn, by the cannon of St. Angelo, at less than half a mile's distance. But, though staggered by this double fire on front and flank, the janizaries were not stayed in their career, nor even thrown into disarray. Heedless of those who fell, the dark column came steadily on, like a thundercloud; while the groans of the dying were drowned in the loud battle-cries with which their comrades rushed to the assault. The fosse, choked up with the ruins of the ramparts, afforded a bridge to the assailants, who had no need of the fascines with which their pioneers were prepared to fill up the chasm. The approach to the breach, however, was somewhat steep; and the breach itself was defended by a body of knights and soldiers, who poured volleys of musketry thick as hail on the assailants. Still they pushed forward through the storm, and, after a fierce struggle, the front rank found itself at the summit, face to face with its enemies. But the strength of the

Turks was nearly exhausted by their efforts. They were hewn down by the Christians, who came fresh into action. Yet others succeeded those who fell, till, thus outnumbered, the knights began to lose ground, and the forces were more equally matched. Then came the struggle of man against man, where each party was spurred on by the fury of religious hate, and Christian and Moslem looked to paradise as the reward of him who fell in battle against the infidel. No mercy was asked; none was shown; and long and hard was the conflict between the flower of the Moslem soldiery and the best knights in Christendom. In the heat of the fight an audacious Turk planted his standard on the rampart. But it was speedily wrenched away by the Chevalier de Medrano, who cut down the Mussulman and at the same moment received a mortal wound from an arquebuse.[16] As the contest lasted far into the day, the heat became intense, and added sorely to the distress of the combatants. Still, several times repulsed, the Turks returned to the assault with the same spirit as before; and when sabre and scimitar were broken, the combatants closed with their daggers, and rolled down the declivity of the breach, struggling in mortal conflict with each other.

While the work of death was going on in this

[16] The remains of Medrano were brought over to Il Borgo, where La Valette, from respect to his memory, caused them to be laid among those of the Grand Crosses: "El gran Maestre lo mando enterrar en una sepultura, adonde se entierran los cavalleros de la gran Cruz, porque esta era la mayor honra, que en tal tiempo le podia hazer, y el muy bien la merecia." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 51.

quarter, a vigorous attempt was made in another to carry the fortress by escalade. A body of Turks, penetrating into the fosse, raised their ladders against the walls, and, pushed forward by their comrades in the rear, endeavored to force an ascent, under a plunging fire of musketry from the garrison. Fragments of rock, logs of wood, ponderous iron shot, were rolled over the parapet, mingled with combustibles and hand-grenades, which, exploding as they descended, shattered the ladders, and hurled the mangled bodies of the assailants on the rocky bottom of the ditch. In this contest one invention proved of singular use to the besieged. It was furnished them by La Valette, and consisted of an iron hoop, wound round with cloth steeped in nitre and bituminous substances, which, when ignited, burned with inextinguishable fury. These hoops, thrown on the assailants, enclosed them in their fiery circles. Sometimes two were thus imprisoned in the same hoop; and, as the flowing dress of the Turks favored the conflagration, they were speedily wrapped in a blaze which scorched them severely, if it did not burn them to death.[17] This invention, so simple,—and rude, as in our day it might be thought,—was so disastrous in its effects that it was held in more dread by the Turks than any other of the fireworks employed by the besieged.

A similar attempt to scale the walls was made on the other side of the castle, but was defeated

[17] The invention of this missile Vertot claims for La Valette. (Knights of Malta, vol. ii. p. 215.) Balbi refers it to a brother of the order, named Ramon Fortunii. Verdadera Relacion, p. 48.

by a well-directed fire from the guns of St. Angelo across the harbor,—which threw their shot with such precision as to destroy most of the storming-party and compel the rest to abandon their design.[18] Indeed, during the whole of the assault, the artillery of St. Angelo, St. Michael, and Il Borgo kept up so irritating a fire on the exposed flank and rear of the enemy as greatly embarrassed his movements and did good service to the besieged.

Thus the battle raged along the water and on the land. The whole circuit of the Great Port was studded with fire. A din of hideous noises rose in the air,—the roar of cannon, the rattle of musketry, the hissing of fiery missiles, the crash of falling masonry, the shrieks of the dying, and, high above all, the fierce cries of those who struggled for mastery! To add to the tumult, in the heat of the fight, a spark falling into the magazine of combustibles in the fortress, it blew up with a tremendous explosion, drowning every other noise, and for a moment stilling the combat. A cloud of smoke and vapor, rising into the air, settled heavily, like a dark canopy, above St. Elmo. It seemed as if a volcano had suddenly burst from the peaceful waters of the Mediterranean, belching out volumes of fire and smoke, and shaking the island to its centre!

[18] The first shot was not so successful, killing eight of their own side!—"Mas el artillero, o fuesse la prissa, o fuesse la turbacion que en semejantes casos suele sobre venir en los hombres el se tuvo mas a mano drecha, que no deviera, pues de aquel tiro mato ocho de los nuestros que defendian aquella posta." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 50.

The fight had lasted for some hours; and still the little band of Christian warriors made good their stand against the overwhelming odds of numbers. The sun had now risen high in the heavens, and, as its rays beat fiercely on the heads of the assailants, their impetuosity began to slacken. At length, faint with heat and excessive toil, and many staggering under wounds, it was with difficulty that the janizaries could be brought back to the attack; and Mustapha saw with chagrin that St. Elmo was not to be won that day. Soon after noon, he gave the signal to retreat; and the Moslem host, drawing off under a galling fire from the garrison, fell back in sullen silence into their trenches, as the tiger, baffled in his expected prey, takes refuge from the spear of the hunter in his jungle.[19]

As the Turks withdrew, the garrison of St. Elmo raised a shout of victory that reached across the waters and was cheerily answered from both St. Angelo and the town, whose inhabitants had watched with intense interest the current of the fight, on the result of which their own fate so much depended.

The number of Moslems who perished in the assault can only be conjectured. But it must have been very large. That of the garrison is stated as high as three hundred men. Of these, seventeen were knights of the order. But the common soldier, it was observed, did his duty as manfully

[19] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 49–51.—Calderon, Gloriosa Defensa de Malta, p. 72, et seq.—Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. ii. pp. 214–216.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 25.—Sagredo, Monarcas Othomanos, p. 245.—Herrera, Historia general, lib. xii. cap. 6.

throughout the day as the best knight by whose side he fought.[20] Few, if any, of the survivors escaped without wounds. Such as were badly injured were transferred at once to the town, and an equal number of able-bodied troops sent to replace them, together with supplies of ammunition, and materials for repairing, as far as possible, the damage to the works. Among those who suffered most from their wounds was the bailiff of Negropont. He obstinately refused to be removed to the town; and when urged by La Valette to allow a substitute to be sent to relieve him, the veteran answered that he was ready to yield up his command to any one who should be appointed in his place; but he trusted he should be allowed still to remain in St. Elmo and shed the last drop of his blood in defence of the Faith.[21]

A similar heroic spirit was shown in the competition of the knights, and even of the Maltese soldiers, to take the place of those who had fallen in the fortress. It was now not merely the post of danger, but, as might be truly said, the post of death. Yet these brave men eagerly contended for it, as for the palm of glory; and La Valette was obliged to refuse the application of twelve knights of the *language* of Italy, on the ground that the complement of the garrison was full.

[20] "En este assalto y en todos me han dicho cavalleros, que pelearõ no solamente ellos, y los soldados, mas que los forçados, bonas vollas, y Malteses murieron con tanto animo, como qualquiera otra persona de mayor estima." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 51.

[21] "Que si su señoria Illustrissima tenia otra persona, para tal cargo mejor, q̃ la embiasse, quel lo obedeceria como a tal, mas quel queria quedar en sant Ermo, como privado cavallero, y por sa religion sacrificar su cuerpo." Ibid., fol. 44.

The only spark of hope now left was that of receiving the succors from Sicily. But the viceroy, far from quickening his movements, seemed willing to play the part of the *matador* in one of his national bull-fights,—allowing the contending parties in the arena to exhaust themselves in the struggle, and reserving his own appearance till a single thrust from his sword should decide the combat.

Still, some chance of prolonging its existence remained to St. Elmo while the communication could be maintained with St. Angelo and the town, by means of which the sinking strength of the garrison was continually renewed with the fresh life-blood that was poured into its veins. The Turkish commander at length became aware that, if he would end the siege, this communication must be cut off. It would have been well for him had he come to this conclusion sooner.

By the advice of Dragut, the investment of the castle was to be completed by continuing the lines of intrenchment to the Great Port, where a battery mounted with heavy guns would command the point of debarkation. While conducting this work, the Moorish captain was wounded on the head by the splinter from a rock struck by a cannon-shot, which laid him senseless in the trenches. Mustapha, commanding a cloak to be thrown over the fallen chief, had him removed to his tent. The wound proved mortal; and, though Dragut survived to learn the fate of St. Elmo, he seems to have been in no condition to aid the siege by his counsels. The loss of this able captain was the

severest blow that could have been inflicted on the besiegers.

While the intrenchments were in progress, the enemy kept up an unintermitting fire on the tottering ramparts of the fortress. This was accompanied by false alarms, and by night-attacks, in which the flaming missiles, as they shot through the air, cast a momentary glare over the waters, that showed the dark outlines of St. Elmo towering in ruined majesty above the scene of desolation. The artillery-men of St. Angelo, in the obscurity of the night, were guided in their aim by the light of the enemy's fireworks.[22] These attacks were made by the Turks not so much in the expectation of carrying the fort, though they were often attended with a considerable loss of life, as for the purpose of wearing out the strength of the garrison. And dreary indeed was the condition of the latter: fighting by day, toiling through the livelong night to repair the ravages in the works, they had no power to take either the rest or the nourishment necessary to recruit their exhausted strength. To all this was now to be added a feeling of deeper despondency, as they saw the iron band closing around them which was to sever them forever from their friends.

On the eighteenth of the month the work of investment was completed, and the extremity of

[22] "La escuridad de la noche fue luego muy clara, por la grãde cãtidad de los fuegos artificiales, que de ambas partes se arojavan, y de tal manera que los que estavamos en san Miguel, veyamos muy claramente sant Ermo, y los artilleros de sant Angel y de otras partes apuntavan, a la lumbre de los fuegos enemigos." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 48.

the lines was garnished with a redoubt mounting two large guns, which, with the musketry from the trenches, would sweep the landing-place and effectually cut off any further supplies from the other side of the harbor. Thus left to their own resources, the days of the garrison were numbered.

La Valette, who had anxiously witnessed these operations of the enemy, had done all he could to retard them, by firing incessantly on the laborers in the hope of driving them from the trenches. When the work was completed, his soul was filled with anguish; and his noble features, which usually wore a tinge of melancholy, were clouded with deeper sadness, as he felt he must now abandon his brave comrades to their fate.

On the twentieth of the month was the festival of Corpus Christi, which in happier days had been always celebrated with great pomp by the Hospitallers. They did not fail to observe it, even at this time. A procession was formed, with the grand master at its head; and the knights walked clad in the dark robes of the order, embroidered with the white cross of Malta. They were accompanied by the whole population of the place, men, women, and children. They made the circuit of the town, taking the direction least exposed to the enemy's fire. On reaching the church, they prostrated themselves on the ground, and, with feelings rendered yet more solemn by their own situation, and above all by that of their brave comrades in St. Elmo, they implored the Lord of Hosts to take pity on their distress, and not allow his ene-

mies to triumph over the true soldiers of the Cross.[23]

During the whole of the twenty-first, the fire of the besiegers was kept up with more than usual severity, until in some places the crumbling wall was shot away, down to the bare rock on which it stood.[24] Their pioneers, who had collected loads of brushwood for the purpose, filled up the ditch with their fascines; which, as they were covered with wet earth, defied the efforts of the garrison to set them on fire. Throughout the following night a succession of false alarms kept the soldiers constantly under arms. All this prognosticated a general assault. It came the next day.

With the earliest streak of light, the Turkish troops were in motion. Soon they came pouring in over the fosse, which, choked up as it was, offered no impediment. Some threw themselves on the breach. The knights and their followers were there to receive them. Others endeavored to scale the ramparts, but were driven back by showers of missiles. The musketry was feeble, for ammunition had begun to fail. But everywhere the assailants were met with the same unconquerable spirit as before. It seemed as if the defenders of St. Elmo, exhausted as they had been by their extraordinary sufferings, had renewed their strength as by a miracle. Thrice the enemy returned to the assault; and thrice he was repulsed. The carnage was terrible, Christian and Mussulman grappling fiercely together, until the ruins on which

[23] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 53.
[24] Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. ii. p. 214.

they fought were heaped with the bodies of the slain.

The combat had lasted several hours. Amazed at the resistance which he met with from this handful of warriors, Mustapha felt that, if he would stop the waste of life in his followers, he must defer the possession of the place for one day longer. Stunned as his enemies must be by the blow he had now dealt, it would be beyond the powers of nature for them to stand another assault. He accordingly again gave the signal for retreat; and the victors again raised the shout—a feeble shout—of triumph; while the banner of the order, floating from the ramparts, proclaimed that St. Elmo was still in the hands of the Christians. It was the last triumph of the garrison.[25]

They were indeed reduced to extremity; with their ammunition nearly exhausted, their weapons battered and broken, their fortifications yawning with breaches, like some tempest-tossed vessel with its seams opening in every direction and ready to founder, the few survivors covered with wounds, and many of them so far crippled as to be scarcely able to drag their enfeebled bodies along the ramparts. One more attack, and the scene would be closed.

In this deplorable state, they determined to make an effort to communicate with their friends on the other side of the harbor and report to them their condition. The distance was not great; and

[25] Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. ii. pp. 216, 217.—Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 54.—Calderon, Gloriosa Defensa de Malta, p. 80, et seq.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 25.

among the Maltese were many excellent swimmers, who, trained from childhood to the sea, took to it as to their native element. One of these offered to bear a message to the grand master. Diving and swimming long under water, he was fortunate enough to escape the enemy's bullets, and landed safe on the opposite shore.

La Valette was deeply affected by his story, though not surprised by it. With the rest of the knights, he had watched with straining eyes the course of the fight; and, though marvelling that, in spite of odds so great, victory should have remained with the Christians, he knew how dearly they must have bought it. Though with little confidence in his success, he resolved to answer their appeal by making one effort to aid them. Five large barges were instantly launched, and furnished with a reinforcement of troops and supplies for the garrison. The knights thronged to the quay, each eagerly contending for the perilous right to embark in them. They thought only of their comrades in St. Elmo.

It turned out as La Valette had foreseen. The landing-place was commanded by a battery of heavy guns, and by hundreds of musketeers, menacing instant death to whoever should approach the shore. But the knights were not allowed to approach it; for the Turkish admiral, lying off the entrance of the Great Port, and aware of the preparations that were making, sent a flotilla of his lighter vessels into the harbor to intercept the convoy. And so prompt were their movements that, unless the Christians had put back again with

all speed, they would have been at once surrounded and captured by the enemy.

The defenders of St. Elmo, who had watched from the ramparts the boats coming to their assistance, saw the failure of the attempt; and the last ray of hope faded away in their bosoms. Their doom was sealed. Little more was left but calmly to await the stroke of the executioner. Yet they did not abandon themselves to an unmanly despair; but, with heroic constancy, they prepared to die like martyrs for the good cause to which they had consecrated their lives.

That night was passed, not in vain efforts to repair the defences, with the hope of protracting existence some few hours longer, but in the solemn preparation of men who felt themselves standing on the brink of eternity. They prayed, confessed, received the sacrament, and, exhorting one another to do their duty, again renewed their vows, which bound them to lay down their lives, if necessary, in defence of the Faith. Some, among whom Miranda and the bailiff of Negropont were especially noticed, went about encouraging and consoling their brethren, and, though covered with wounds themselves, administering such comfort as they could to the sick and the dying; and the dying lay thick around, mingled with the dead, on the ruins which were soon to become their common sepulchre.[26]

[26] "Ellos como aquellos q̃ la mañana havia de ser su postrer dia en este mũdo, unos con otros se confessavan, y rogavan a nuestro señor que por su infinita misericordia, la tuviesse de sus animas, pues le costaron su preciossissima sangre para redemirlas." Balbi, Verda-

Thus passed away the dreary night; when, tenderly embracing one another, like friends who part forever, each good knight repaired to his post, prepared to sell his life as dearly as he could. Some of the more aged and infirm, and those crippled by their wounds, were borne in the arms of their comrades to the spot where, seated on the ruins and wielding their ineffectual swords, they prepared, like true and loyal knights, to die upon the breach.

They did not wait long. The Turks, so often balked of their prey, called loudly to be led to the assault. Their advance was not checked by the feeble volleys thrown at random against them from the fortress; and they were soon climbing the ascent of the breach, still slippery with the carnage of the preceding day. But, with all their numbers, it was long before they could break the little line of Maltese chivalry which was there to receive them. Incredible as it may seem, the struggle lasted for some hours longer, while the fate of St. Elmo hung suspended in the balance. At length, after a short respite, the Turkish host rallied for a last assault; and the tide of battle, pouring through the ample breach with irresistible fury, bore down cavalier and soldier, leaving no living thing upon the ramparts. A small party of the knights, escaping in the tumult, threw themselves into the chapel; but, finding that no quarter was given to those who surrendered, they rushed out and perished on the swords of the enemy. A

dera Relacion, fol. 54.—See also Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. ii. pp. 217, 218;—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 25.

body of nine cavaliers, posted near the end of the fosse, not far from the ground occupied by Dragut's men, surrendered themselves as prisoners of war to the corsairs; and the latter, who, in their piratical trade, had learned to regard men as a kind of merchandise, happily refused to deliver up the Christians to the Turks, holding them for ransom. These were the only members of the order who survived the massacre.[27] A few Maltese soldiers, however, experienced swimmers, succeeded, amidst the tumult, in reaching the opposite side of the harbor, where they spread the sad tidings of the loss of St. Elmo. This was speedily confirmed by the volleys of the Turkish ordnance; and the standard of the Crescent, planted on the spot so lately occupied by the banner of St. John, showed too plainly that this strong post, the key of the island, had passed from the Christians into the hands of the infidel.[28]

The Ottoman fleet, soon afterwards, doubling

[27] Vertot, whose appetite for the marvellous sometimes carries him into the miraculous, gives us to understand that not one of the garrison survived the storming of St. Elmo. (Knights of Malta, vol. ii. p. 219.) If that were so, one would like to know how the historian got his knowledge of what was doing in the fortress the day and night previous to the assault. The details quoted above from Balbi account for this knowledge, and carry with them an air of probability. (Verdadera Relacion, fol. 55.)

[28] "Luego que entraron los Turcos en sant Ermo, abatieron el estādarte de san Juan, y en su lugar plantaron una vandera del gran Turco, y en todo aquel dia no hizieron otra cosa, que plantar vāderas, y vanderillas por la muralla, segun su costumbre." Ibid., fol. 55.—See also, for the storming of St. Elmo, Calderon, Gloriosa Defensa de Malta, pp. 81–84,—Miniana, Hist. de España, p. 351,—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 25,—Campana, Filippo Secondo, par. ii. p. 159,—Sagredo, Monarcas Othomanos, p. 245,—Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. ii. p. 219, et seq.

the point, entered Port Musiette, on the west, with music playing, and gay with pennons and streamers; while the rocks rang with the shouts of the Turkish soldiery, and the batteries on shore replied in thunders to the artillery of the shipping.

The day on which this occurred, the twenty-third of June, was that of the festival of St. John the Baptist, the patron of the order. It had been always celebrated by the knights with greater splendor than any other anniversary. Now, alas! it was to them a day of humiliation and mourning, while they had the additional mortification to see it observed as a day of triumphant jubilee by the enemies of the Faith.[29]

To add to their distress, Mustapha sullied his victory by some brutal acts, which seem to have been in keeping with his character. The heads of four of the principal knights, among them those of Miranda and the bailiff of Negropont, were set high on poles looking towards the town. A spectacle yet more shocking was presented to the eyes of the besieged. The Turkish general caused the bodies of several cavaliers—some of them, it is said, while life was still palpitating within them—to be scored on the bosoms with gashes in the form of a cross. Thus defaced, they were lashed to planks and thrown into the water. Several of them drifted to the opposite shore, where they were easily recognized by their brethren; and La Valette, as he gazed on the dishonored remains of his

[29] "A todos nos pesava en el anima porque aquellas eran fiestas que solian hazer los cavalleros en tal dia, para honor deste su santo avogado." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 55.

dear companions, was melted to tears. But grief soon yielded to feelings of a sterner nature. He commanded the heads of his Turkish prisoners to be struck off and shot from the large guns into the enemy's lines,—by way of teaching the Moslems, as the chronicler tells us, a lesson of humanity![30]

The number of Christians who fell in this siege amounted to about fifteen hundred. Of these one hundred and twenty-three were members of the order, and among them several of its most illustrious warriors.[31] The Turkish loss is estimated at eight thousand, at the head of whom stood Dragut, of more account than a legion of the common file. He was still living, though speechless, when the fort was stormed. He was roused from his lethargy by the shouts of victory, and when, upon turning with inquiring looks to those around, he was told the cause, he raised his eyes to heaven, as if in gratitude for the event, and expired.[32]

The Turkish commander, dismantling St. Elmo, —which, indeed, was little better than a heap of ruins,—sent some thirty cannon, that had lined the works, as the trophies of victory, to Constantinople.[33]

Thus ended the memorable siege of St. Elmo, in which a handful of warriors withstood, for the space of a month, the whole strength of the

[30] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 58.—Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. ii. p. 220.

[31] Balbi has given a catalogue of the knights who fell in the siege, with the names of the countries to which they respectively belonged. Verdadera Relacion, fol. 56.

[32] Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. ii. p. 219.

[33] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 33.

Turkish army. Such a result, while it proves the unconquerable valor of the garrison, intimates that the Turks, however efficient they may have been in field-operations, had little skill as engineers, and no acquaintance with the true principles of conducting a siege. It must have been obvious, from the first, that to bring the siege to a speedy issue it was necessary to destroy the communications of St. Elmo with the town. Yet this was not attempted till the arrival of Dragut, who early recommended the construction of a battery for this purpose on some high land on the opposite side of the Great Port. In this he was overruled by the Turkish commander. It was not till some time later that the line of investment, at the corsair's suggestion, was continued to the water's edge,—and the fate of the fortress was decided.

St. Elmo fell. But precious time had been lost,—an irreparable loss, as it proved, to the besiegers; while the place had maintained so long and gallant a resistance as greatly to encourage the Christians, and in some degree to diminish the confidence of the Moslems. "What will not the parent cost," exclaimed Mustapha,—alluding to St. Angelo,—"when the child has cost us so dear!" [34]

[34] The two principal authorities on whom I have relied for the siege of Malta are Balbi and Vertot. The former was a soldier, who served through the siege, his account of which, now not easily met with, was printed shortly afterwards, and in less than three years went into a second edition,—being that used in the present work. As Balbi was both an eye-witness and an actor on a theatre so limited that nothing could be well hidden from view, and as he wrote while events were fresh in his memory, his testimony is of the highest value. It loses nothing by the temperate, homebred style in which the book is written, like that of a man anxious only to tell the truth, and not to magnify the cause or the party to which he is attached.

In this the honest soldier forms a contrast to his more accomplished rival, the Abbé de Vertot. This eminent writer was invited to compose the history of the order, and its archives were placed by the knights at his disposal for this purpose. He accepted the task; and in performing it he has sounded the note of panegyric with as hearty a good will as if he had been a knight hospitaller himself. This somewhat detracts from the value of a work which must be admitted to rest, in respect to materials, on the soundest historical basis. The abbé's turn for the romantic has probably aided, instead of hurting him, with the generality of readers. His clear and sometimes eloquent style, the interest of his story, and the dramatic skill with which he brings before the eye the peculiar traits of his actors, redeem, to some extent, the prolixity of his narrative, and have combined not merely to commend the book to popular favor, but to make it the standard work on the subject.

CHAPTER IV

SIEGE OF MALTA

Il Borgo invested—Storming of St. Michael—Slaughter of the Turks—Incessant Cannonade—General Assault—The Turks repulsed—Perilous Condition of Il Borgo—Constancy of La Valette

1565

THE strength of the order was now concentrated on the two narrow slips of land which run out from the eastern side of the Great Port. Although some account of these places has been given to the reader, it will not be amiss to refresh his recollection of what is henceforth to be the scene of operations.

The northern peninsula, occupied by the town,—*Il Borgo*,—and at the extreme point by the castle of St. Angelo, was defended by works stronger and in better condition than the fortifications of St. Elmo. The care of them was divided among the different *languages*, each of which gave its own name to the bastion it defended. Thus, the Spanish knights were intrusted with the bastion of Castile, on the eastern corner of the Peninsula,—destined to make an important figure in the ensuing siege.

The parallel slip of land was crowned by the fort of St. Michael,—a work of narrower dimensions than the castle of St. Angelo,—at the base of which might be seen a small gathering of houses,

hardly deserving the name of a town. This peninsula was surrounded by fortifications scarcely yet completed, on which the grand master La Sangle, who gave his name to the place, had generously expended his private fortune. The works were terminated, on the extreme point, by a low bastion, or rather demi-bastion, called the Spur.

The precious interval gained by the long detention of the Turks before St. Elmo had been diligently employed by La Valette in putting the defences of both La Sangle and Il Borgo in the best condition possible under the circumstances. In this good work all united,—men, women, and children. All were animated by the same patriotic feeling, and by a common hatred of the infidel. La Valette ordered the heavy guns to be taken from the galleys which were lying at anchor, and placed on the walls of the fortresses. He directed that such provisions as were in the hands of individuals should be delivered up for a fair compensation and transferred to the public magazines.[1] Five companies of soldiers, stationed in the Notable City, in the interior of the island, he now ordered to Il Borgo, where their services would be more needed. Finally, as there were no accommodations for prisoners, who, indeed, could not be maintained without encroaching on the supplies necessary for the garrison, La Valette commanded that no prisoners should be

[1] By another ordinance, La Valette caused all the dogs in La Sangle and Il Borgo to be killed, because they disturbed the garrisons by night and ate their provisions by day. Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 29.

made, but that all who fell into the hands of the victors should be put to the sword.[2] It was to be on both sides a war of extermination.

At this juncture, La Valette had the satisfaction of receiving a reinforcement from Sicily, which, though not large, was of great importance in the present state of affairs. The viceroy had at length so far yielded to the importunities of the Knights of St. John who were then at his court, impatiently waiting for the means of joining their brethren, as to fit out a squadron of four galleys, —two of his own, and two belonging to the order. They had forty knights on board, and seven hundred soldiers, excellent troops, drawn chiefly from the Spanish garrisons in Italy. The vessels were placed under command of Don Juan de Cardona, who was instructed to return without attempting to land, should he find St. Elmo in the hands of the enemy. Cardona, who seems to have had a good share of the timid, vacillating policy of his superior, fearful of the Ottoman fleet, stood off and on for some days, without approaching the island. During this time St. Elmo was taken. Cardona, ignorant of the fact, steered towards the south, and finally anchored off Pietra Negra, on the opposite side of the island. Here one of the knights was permitted to go on shore to collect information. He there learned the fate of St. Elmo; but, as he carefully concealed the tidings, the rest of the forces were speedily landed, and Cardona, with his galleys, was soon on the way to Sicily.

The detachment was under the command of the

[2] Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. p. 2.

Chevalier de Robles, a brave soldier, and one of the most illustrious men of the order. Under cover of night, he passed within gun-shot of the Turkish lines without being discovered, and was so fortunate as to bring his men in safety to the side of the English harbor opposite to Il Borgo, which it washes on the north. There he found boats awaiting his arrival. They had been provided by the grand master, who was advised of his movements. A thick fog lay upon the waters; and under its friendly mantle Robles and his troops crossed over in safety to the town, where they were welcomed by the knights, who joyfully greeted the brave companions that had come to share with them the perils of the siege.[3]

While this was going on, Mustapha, the Turkish commander, had been revolving in his mind whether it were not possible to gain his ends by negotiation instead of war, and thus be spared the waste of life which the capture of St. Elmo had cost him. He flattered himself that La Valette, taking warning by the fate of that fortress, might be brought to capitulate on fair and honorable terms. He accordingly sent a messenger with a summons to the grand master to deliver up the island, on the assurance of a free passage for himself and his followers, with all their effects, to Sicily.

The envoy chosen was a Greek slave,—an old man, who had lived from boyhood in captivity.

[3] Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. p. 4.—Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 64.—Calderon, Gloriosa Defensa de Malta, p. 94.—Sagredo, Monarcas Othomanos, p. 296.

Under protection of a flag of truce, the slave gained admission into St. Angelo, and was conducted blindfold to the presence of the grand master. He there delivered his message. La Valette calmly listened, but without deigning to reply; and when the speaker had ended, the stern chief ordered him to be taken from his presence and instantly hanged. The wretched man threw himself at the feet of the grand master, beseeching him to spare his life, and protesting that he was but a poor slave, and had come, against his will, in obedience to the commands of the Turkish general. La Valette, who had probably no intention from the first to have his order carried into execution, affected to relent, declaring, however, that should any other messenger venture hereafter to insult him with the like proposals he should not escape so easily. The terrified old man was then dismissed. As he left the presence, he was led through long files of the soldiery drawn up in imposing array, and was shown the strong works of the castle of St. Angelo. "Look," said one of the officers, pointing to the deep ditch which surrounded the fortress, "there is all the room we can afford your master; but it is deep enough to bury him and his followers!" The slave, though a Christian, could not be persuaded to remain and take his chance with the besieged. They must be beaten in the end, he said, and, when retaken by the Turks, his case would be worse than ever.[4]

[4] Calderon, Gloriosa Defensa de Malta, p. 91.—Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. p. 3.—De Thou, Histoire universelle, tom. v. p. 67.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 26.—Sagredo, Monarcas Othomanos, p. 246.

There was now no alternative for Mustapha but to fight; and he had not lost a moment since the fall of St. Elmo in pushing forward his preparations. Trenches had been opened on the heights at the foot of Mount Coradin, at the southern extremity of the Great Port, and continued on a line that stretched to Mount St. Salvador. Where the soil was too hard to be readily turned up, the defences were continued by a wall of stone. Along the heights, on different points of the line, batteries were established, and mounted with guns of the heaviest calibre. Batteries were also raised on the high ground which, under the name of Mount Sceberras, divides Port Musiette from the Great Port, terminating in the point of land crowned by St. Elmo. A few cannon were even planted by the Turks on the ruins of this castle.

Thus the Christian fortresses were menaced on every point; and, while the lines of the besiegers cut off all communication on the land-side, a detachment of the fleet, blocking up the entrance to the great port, effectually cut off intercourse by the sea. The investment by land and by sea was complete.

Early in July the wide circle of batteries, mounting between sixty and seventy pieces of artillery, opened its converging fire on the fortresses, the towns, and the shipping, which lay at anchor in the Port of Galleys. The cannonade was returned with spirit by the guns of St. Angelo and St. Michael, well served by men acquainted with their duty. So soon as the breeches were practicable, Mustapha proposed to begin by storming St.

Michael, the weaker of the two fortresses, and he determined to make the assault by sea as well as by land. It would not be possible, however, to bring round his vessels lying in Port Musiette into the Great Port without exposing them to the guns of St. Angelo. He resorted, therefore, to an expedient startling enough, but not new in the annals of warfare. He caused a large number of boats to be dragged across the high land which divides the two harbors. This toilsome work was performed by his Christian slaves; and the garrison beheld with astonishment the Turkish flotilla descending the rugged slopes of the opposite eminence and finally launched on the waters of the inland basin. No less than eighty boats, some of them of the largest size, were thus transported across the heights.

Having completed this great work, Mustapha made his preparations for the assault. At this time he was joined by a considerable reinforcement under Hassem, the Algerine corsair, who commanded at the memorable sieges of Oran and Mazarquivir. Struck with the small size of the castle of St. Elmo, Hassem intimated his surprise that it should have held out so long against the Turkish arms; and he besought Mustapha to intrust him with the conduct of the assault that was to be made on Fort St. Michael. The Turkish general, not unwilling that the presumptuous young chief should himself prove the temper of the Maltese swords, readily gave him the command, and the day was fixed for the attack.

Fortunately, at this time, a deserter, a man of

some consequence in the Turkish army, crossed over to Il Borgo and acquainted the grand master with the designs of the enemy. La Sangle was defended on the north, as already noticed, by a strong iron chain, which, stretching across the Port of Galleys at its mouth, would prevent the approach of boats in that direction. La Valette now caused a row of palisades to be sunk in the mud, at the bottom of the harbor, in a line extending from the extreme point of La Sangle to the foot of Mount Coradin. These were bound together by heavy chains, so well secured as to oppose an effectual barrier to the passage of the Turkish flotilla. The length of this barricade was not great. But it was a work of much difficulty,—not the less so that it was necessary to perform it in the night, in order to secure the workmen from the enemy's guns. In little more than a week it was accomplished. Mustapha sent a small body of men, excellent swimmers, armed with axes, to force an opening in the barrier. They had done some mischief to the work, when a party of Maltese, swimming out, with their swords between their teeth, fell on the Turks, beat them off, and succeeding in restoring the palisades.[5]

Early in the morning, on the fifteenth of July, two cannon in the Ottoman lines, from opposite sides of the Great Port, gave the signal for the assault. Hassem prepared to lead it, in person, on the land-side. The attack by water he intrusted

[5] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 61, 62, 68.—Calderon, Gloriosa Defensa de Malta, pp. 95–100.—Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. pp. 4–7.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 26.—Herrera, Historia general, lib. xii. cap. 7.

to an Algerine corsair, his lieutenant. Before the report of the cannon had died away, a great number of boats were seen by the garrison of St. Michael putting off from the opposite shore. They were filled with troops, and among these, to judge from their dress, were many persons of condition. The account is given by the old soldier so often quoted, who, stationed on the bastion of the Spur, had a full view of the enemy. It was a gay spectacle, these Moslem chiefs in their rich Oriental costumes, with their gaudy-colored turbans, and their loose flowing mantles of crimson or of cloth of gold and silver; the beams of the rising sun glancing on their polished weapons,—their bows of delicate workmanship, their scimitars from the forges of Alexandria and Damascus, their muskets of Fez.[6] "It was a beautiful sight to see," adds the chronicler, with some *naïveté*, "if one could have looked on it without danger to himself."[7]

In advance of the squadron came two or three boats, bearing persons whose venerable aspect and dark-colored robes proclaimed them to be the religious men of the Moslems.* They seemed to be reciting from a volume before them, and muttering what might be prayers to Allah,—possibly invoking his vengeance on the infidel. But these soon dropped astern, leaving the way open for the

[6] "No avia hombre que no truxesse aljuba, el que menos de grana, muchos de tela de oro, y de plata, y damasco carmesi, y muy buenas escopetas de fez, cimitaras de Alexandria, ye de Damasco, arcos muy finos, y muy ricos turbantes." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 70.

[7] "Cargadas de gente muy luzida, vista por cierto muy linda, sino fuera tan peligrosa." Ibid., ubi supra.

* [There is no "priesthood" among the Moslems.—M.]

rest of the flotilla, which steered for the palisades, with the intention evidently of forcing a passage. But the barrier proved too strong for their efforts; and, chafed by the musketry which now opened on them from the bastion, the Algerine commander threw himself into the water, which was somewhat above his girdle, and, followed by his men, advanced boldly towards the shore.

Two mortars were mounted on the rampart. But, through some mismanagement, they were not worked; and the assailants were allowed to reach the foot of the bastion, which they prepared to carry by escalade. Applying their ladders, they speedily began to mount; when they were assailed by showers of stones, hand-grenades, and combustibles of various kinds; while huge fragments of rock were rolled over the parapet, crushing men and ladders and scattering them in ruin below. The ramparts were covered with knights and soldiers, among whom the stately form of Antonio de Zanoguerra, the commander of the post, was conspicuous, towering above his comrades and cheering them on to the fight. Meantime the assailants, mustering like a swarm of hornets to the attack, were soon seen replacing the broken ladders and again clambering up the walls. The leading files were pushed upward by those below; yet scarcely had the bold adventurers risen above the parapet when they were pierced by the pikes of the soldiers or struck down by the swords and battle-axes of the knights. At this crisis, a spark unfortunately falling into the magazine of combustibles, it took fire, and blew up with a terrific

explosion, killing or maiming numbers of the garrison, and rolling volumes of blinding smoke along the bastion. The besiegers profited by the confusion to gain a footing on the ramparts; and, when the clouds of vapor began to dissipate, the garrison were astonished to find their enemies at their side, and a number of small banners, such as the Turks usually bore into the fight, planted on the walls. The contest now raged fiercer than ever, as the parties fought on more equal terms,—the Mussulmans smarting under their wounds, and the Christians fired with the recollection of St. Elmo and the desire of avenging their slaughtered brethren. The struggle continued long after the sun, rising high in the heavens, poured down a flood of heat on the combatants; and the garrison, pressed by superior numbers, weary, and faint with wounds, were hardly able to keep their footing on the slippery ground, saturated with their own blood and that of their enemies. Still the cheering battle-cry of St. John rose in the air, and their brave leader, Zanoguerra, at the head of his knights, was to be seen in the thickest of the fight. There too was Brother Robert, an ecclesiastic of the order, with a sword in one hand and a crucifix in the other, though wounded himself, rushing among the ranks and exhorting the men to "fight for the faith of Jesus Christ, and to die in its defence." [8]

[8] "Nuestro predicador fray Ruberto, el qual en todo el assalto yva por todas las postas con un crucifixo en la una mano, y la espada en la otra: animandonos a bien morir, y pelear por la fe de Iesu Christo:. y fue herido este dia su paternidad." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 73.

At this crisis the commander, Zanoguerra, though clad in armor of proof, was hit by a random musket-shot, which stretched him lifeless on the rampart. At his fall the besiegers set up a shout of triumph, and redoubled their efforts. It would now have gone hard with the garrison had it not been for a timely reinforcement which arrived from Il Borgo. It was sent by La Valette, who had learned the perilous state of the bastion. He had, not long before this, caused a floating bridge to be laid across the Port of Galleys,—thus connecting the two peninsulas with each other and affording a much readier means of communication than before existed.

While this was going on, a powerful reinforcement was on its way to the support of the assailants. Ten boats of the largest size, having a thousand janizaries on board, were seen advancing across the Great Harbor from the opposite shore. Taking warning by the fate of their countrymen, they avoided the palisades, and, pursuing a more northerly course, stood for the extreme point of the Spur. By so doing they exposed themselves to the fire of a battery in St. Angelo, sunk down almost to the water's level. It was this depressed condition of the work that secured it from the notice of the Turks. The battery, mounted with five guns, was commanded by the Chevalier de Guiral, who coolly waited until the enemy had come within range of his shot, when he gave the word to fire. The pieces were loaded with heavy balls, and with bags filled with chain and bits of

iron. The effect of the discharge was terrible. Nine of the barges were shattered to pieces, and immediately sank.[9] The water was covered with the splinters of the vessels, with mutilated trunks, dissevered limbs, fragments of clothes, and quantities of provisions; for the enemy came prepared to take up their quarters permanently in the fortress. Amidst the dismal wreck a few wretches were to be seen struggling with the waves and calling on their comrades for help. But those in the surviving boat, when they had recovered from the shock of the explosion, had no mind to remain longer in so perilous a position, but made the best of their way back to shore, leaving their companions to their fate. Day after day the waves threw upon the strand the corpses of the drowned men; and the Maltese divers long continued to drag up from the bottom rich articles of wearing-apparel, ornaments, and even purses of money, which had been upon the persons of the janizaries. Eight hundred are said to have perished by this disaster, which may, not improbably, have decided the fate of the fortress; for the strength of the reinforcement would have been more than a match for that sent by La Valette to the support of the garrison.[10]

Meanwhile, the succors detached by the grand

[9] "Echo nueve barcas delas mayores a fondo que no se salvo ninguno, y auria en estas barcas ochocientos Turcos." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 72.

[10] This seems to have been Balbi's opinion. "En conclusion, la casa mata del comendador Guiral fue este dia a juyzio de todos la salvacion de la Isla, porque si las barcas ya dichas echavan sue gẽte en tierra, no les pudieramos resistir en ninguna manera." Ibid., fol. 73.

master had no sooner entered the bastion than, seeing their brethren so hard beset, and the Moslem flags planted along the parapet, they cried their war-cry and fell furiously on the enemy. In this they were well supported by the garrison, who gathered strength at the sight of the reinforcement. The Turks, now pressed on all sides, gave way. Some succeeded in making their escape by the ladders, as they had entered. Others were hurled down on the rocks below. Most, turning on their assailants, fell fighting on the rampart which they had so nearly won. Those who escaped hurried to the shore, hoping to gain the boats, which lay off some distance; when a detachment, sallying from the bastion, intercepted their flight. Thus at bay, they had no alternative but to fight. But their spirit was gone; and they were easily hewed down by their pursuers. Some, throwing themselves on their knees, piteously begged for mercy. "Such mercy," shouted the victors, "as you showed at St. Elmo!" [11] and buried their daggers in their bodies.

While this bloody work was going on below, the knights and soldiers gathered on the exposed points of the bastion above presented an obvious mark to the Turkish guns across the water, which had not been worked during the assault, for fear of injuring the assailants. Now that the Turks had vanished from the ramparts, some heavy shot were thrown among the Christians, with fatal effect. Among others who were slain was Frederick de Toledo, a son of the viceroy of Sicily. He

[11] Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. p. 13.

was a young knight of great promise, and was under the especial care of the grand master, who kept him constantly near his person. But when the generous youth learned the extremity to which his brethren in La Sangle were reduced, he secretly joined the reinforcement which was going to their relief, and did his duty like a good knight in the combat which followed. While on the rampart, he was struck down by a cannon-shot; and a splinter from his cuirass mortally wounded a comrade to whom he was speaking at the time.

While the fight was thus going on at the Spur, Hassem was storming the breach of Fort St. Michael, on the opposite quarter. The storming-party, consisting of both Moors and Turks, rushed to the assault with their usual intrepidity. But they found a very different enemy from the spectral forms which, wasted by toil and suffering, had opposed so ineffectual a resistance in the last days of St. Elmo. In vain did the rushing tide of assailants endeavor to force an opening through the stern array of warriors, which, like a wall of iron, now filled up the breach. Recoiling in confusion, the leading files fell back upon the rear, and all was disorder. But Hassem soon reformed his ranks, and again led them to the charge. Again they were repulsed with loss; but, as fresh troops came to their aid, the little garrison must have been borne down by numbers, had not their comrades, flushed with their recent victory at the bastion, hurried to their support, and, sweeping like a whirlwind through the breach, driven the enemy

with dreadful carnage along the slope and compelled him to take refuge in his trenches.

Thus ended the first assault of the besiegers since the fall of St. Elmo. The success of the Christians was complete. Between three and four thousand Mussulmans, including those who were drowned,—according to the Maltese statements, —fell in the two attacks on the fortress and the bastion. But the arithmetic of an enemy is not apt to be exact.[12] The loss of the Christians did not exceed two hundred. Even this was a heavy loss to the besieged, and included some of their best knights, to say nothing of others disabled by their wounds. Still, it was a signal victory; and its influence was felt in raising the spirits of the besieged and in inspiring them with confidence. La Valette was careful to cherish these feelings. The knights, followed by the whole population of Il Borgo, went in solemn procession to the great church of St. Lawrence, where Te Deum was chanted, while the colors taken from the infidel were suspended from the walls as glorious trophies of the victory.[13]

Mustapha now found that the spirit of the

[12] Compare Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. p. 13, and Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 73.—The latter chronicler, for a wonder, raises the sum total of the killed to a somewhat higher figure than the abbé,—calling it full four thousand.

[13] The particulars of the assaults on St. Michael and the Spur are given by Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 61–74; and with more or less inaccuracy by Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. pp. 8–13; Calderon, Gloriosa Defensa de Malta, pp. 110–116; De Thou, Histoire universelle, tom. v. pp. 72–74; Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. v. cap. 26; Herrera, Historia general, lib. xii. cap. 7; Sagredo, Monarcas Othomanos, p. 246; Campana, Vita di Filippo Secondo, tom. ii. p. 160.

besieged, far from being broken by their late reverses, was higher than ever, as their resources were greater, and their fortifications stronger, than those of St. Elmo. He saw the necessity of proceeding with greater caution. He resolved to level the defences of the Christians with the ground, and then, combining the whole strength of his forces, make simultaneous assaults on Il Borgo and St. Michael. His first step was to continue his line of intrenchments below St. Salvador to the water's edge, and thus cut off the enemy's communication with the opposite side of the English Port, by means of which the late reinforcement from Sicily had reached him. He further strengthened the battery on St. Salvador, arming it with sixteen guns,—two of them of such enormous calibre as to throw stone bullets of three hundred pounds' weight.

From this ponderous battery he now opened a crushing fire on the neighboring bastion of Castile, and on the quarter of Il Borgo lying nearest to it. The storm of marble and metal that fell upon the houses, though these were built of stone, soon laid many of them in ruins; and the shot, sweeping the streets, killed numbers of the inhabitants, including women and children. La Valette caused barriers of solid masonry to be raised across the streets for the protection of the citizens. As this was a work of great danger, he put his slaves upon it, trusting, too, that the enemy might be induced to mitigate his fire from tenderness for the lives of his Moslem brethren. But in such an expectation he greatly erred. More than five hundred slaves

fell under the incessant volleys of the besiegers; and it was only by the most severe, indeed cruel treatment, that these unfortunate beings could be made to resume their labors.[14]

La Valette at this time, in order to protect the town against assault on the side of the English Port, caused a number of vessels laden with heavy stones to be sunk not far from shore. They were further secured by anchors bound to one another with chains, forming altogether an impenetrable barrier against any approach by water.

The inhabitants of Il Borgo, as well as the soldiers, were now active in preparations for defence. Some untwisted large ropes and cables to get materials for making bags to serve as gabions. Some were busy with manufacturing different sorts of fireworks, much relied on as a means of defence by the besieged. Others were employed in breaking up the large stones from the ruined buildings into smaller ones, which proved efficient missiles when hurled on the heads of the assailants below. But the greatest and most incessant labor was that of repairing the breaches, or of constructing retrenchments to defend them. The sound of the hammer and the saw was everywhere to be heard. The fires of the forges were never suffered to go out. The hum of labor was as unintermitting

[14] Cruel indeed, according to the report of Balbi, who tells us that the Christians cut off the ears of the more refractory, and even put some of them to death,—*pour encourager les autres:* "Han muerto en esta jornada al trabajo mas de quinientos esclavos; mas los pobres llegaron atal de puros cansados y acabados del trabajo continuo, que no podian estar en pie, y se dexavan cortar las orejas y matar, por no poder trabajar mas." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 66.

throughout the city as in the season of peace; but with a very different end.[15]

Over all these labors the grand master exercised a careful superintendence. He was always on the spot where his presence was needed. His eye seemed never to slumber. He performed many of the duties of a soldier, as well as of a commander. He made the rounds constantly in the night, to see that all was well and that the sentinels were at their posts. On these occasions he freely exposed himself to danger, showing a carelessness of his own safety that called forth more than once the remonstrances of his brethren. He was indeed watchful over all, says the old chronicler who witnessed it; showing no sign of apprehension in his valiant countenance, but by his noble presence giving heart and animation to his followers.[16]

Yet the stoutest heart which witnessed the scene might well have thrilled with apprehension. Far as the eye could reach, the lines of the Moslem army stretched over hill and valley; while a deafening roar of artillery from fourteen batteries shook the solid earth, and, borne across the waters for more than a hundred miles, sounded to the inhabitants of Syracuse and Catania like the mutterings of distant thunder.[17] In the midst of this

[15] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 67, 77.—Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. p. 18.—Campana, Vita di Filippo Secondo, tom. ii. p. 160.

[16] "En fin era in todo diligente, vigilante y animoso, y jamas se conoscio en su valeroso semblante ninguna señal de temor, antes con su presencia dava esfuerço y animo à sus cavalleros y soldados." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 77.

[17] "Luego que todas estas baterias començaron de batir, y todas en un tiempo, era tanto el ruydo y temblor que parecia quererse

turmoil, and encompassed by the glittering lines of the besiegers, the two Christian fortresses might be dimly discerned amidst volumes of fire and smoke, which, rolling darkly round their summits, almost hid from view the banner of St. John, proudly waving in the breeze, as in defiance of the enemy.

But the situation of the garrison, as the works crumbled under the stroke of the bullet, became every day more critical. La Valette contrived to send information of it to the viceroy of Sicily, urging him to delay his coming no longer, if he would save the island. But, strange to say, such was the timid policy that had crept into the viceroy's councils that it was seriously discussed whether it was expedient to send aid at all to the Knights of Malta! Some insisted that there was no obligation on Spain to take any part in the quarrel, and that the knights should be left to fight out the battle with the Turks in Malta, as they had before done in Rhodes. Others remonstrated against this, declaring it would be an eternal blot on the scutcheon of Castile if she should desert in their need the brave chivalry who for so many years had been fighting the battles of Christendom. The king of Spain, in particular, as the feudatory sovereign of the order, was bound to protect the island from the Turks, who moreover, once in possession of it, would prove the most terrible scourge that ever fell on the commerce of the

acabar el mũdo, y puedese bien creer que el ruydo fuesse tal, pues se sentia muy claramente dende Çaragoça, y dende Catania, que ay ciento y veynte millas de Malta a estas dos ciudades." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 78.

Mediterranean. The more generous, happily the more politic, counsel prevailed; and the viceroy contrived to convey an assurance to the grand master that if he could hold out till the end of the following month he would come with sixteen thousand men to his relief.[18]

But this was a long period for men in extremity to wait. La Valette saw with grief how much deceived he had been in thus leaning on the viceroy. He determined to disappoint his brethren no longer by holding out delusive promises of succor. "The only succor to be relied on," he said, "was that of Almighty God. He who has hitherto preserved his children from danger will not now abandon them."[19] La Valette reminded his followers that they were the soldiers of Heaven, fighting for the Faith, for liberty and life. "Should the enemy prevail," he added, with a politic suggestion, "the Christians could expect no better fate than that of their comrades in St. Elmo." The grand master's admonition was not lost upon the soldiers. "Every man of us," says Balbi, "resolved to die rather than surrender, and to sell his life as dearly as possible. From that hour no man talked of succors."[20]

[18] Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. pp. 21, 22.

[19] "Dixo publicamente, que el no aguardava socorro ya sino era del omnipotente Dios el qual era el soccorro verdadero, y el que hasta entonces nos havia librado, y que ni mas ni menos nos libraria por el avenir, delas manos delos enemigos de su santa fee." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 81.

[20] "Esta habla del gran Maestre luego fue divulgada, y asi toda la gente se determino de primero morir que venir a manos de turcos vivos, pero tambien se determino de vender muy bien sus vidas, y asi ya no se tratava de socorro." Ibid., ubi supra.

One of those spiritual weapons from the papal armory, which have sometimes proved of singular efficacy in times of need, came now most seasonably to the aid of La Valette. A bull of Pius the Fourth granted plenary indulgence for all the sins which had been committed by those engaged in this holy war against the Moslems. "There were few," says the chronicler, "either women or men, old enough to appreciate it, who did not strive to merit this grace by most earnest devotion to the cause, and who did not have entire faith that all who died in the good work would be at once received into glory." [21]

More than two weeks had elapsed since the attempt, so disastrous to the Turks, on the fortress of St. Michael. During this time they had kept up an unintermitting fire on the Christian fortifications; and the effect was visible in more than one fearful gap, which invited the assault of the enemy. The second of August was accordingly fixed on as the day for a general attack, to be made on both Fort St. Michael and on the bastion of Castile, which, situated at the head of the English Port, eastward of Il Borgo, flanked the line of defence on that quarter. Mustapha was to conduct in person the operations against the fort; the assault on the bastion he intrusted to Piali;—a division of the command by which the ambition of the rival chiefs would be roused to the utmost.

Fortunately, La Valette obtained notice,

[21] "No quedo hombre ni muger de edad para ello que no lo ganasse con devocion grandissima, y con muy firme esperança y fe de yr ala gloria, muriendo en la jornada." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 71.

through some deserters, of the plans of the Turkish commanders, and made his preparations accordingly. On the morning of the second, Piali's men, at the appointed signal, moved briskly forward to the assault. They soon crossed the ditch, but partially filled with the ruins of the rampart, scaled the ascent in face of a sharp fire of musketry, and stood at length, with ranks somewhat shattered, on the summit of the breach. But here they were opposed by retrenchments within, thrown up by the besieged, from behind which they now poured such heavy volleys among the assailants as staggered the front of the column and compelled it to fall back some paces in the rear. Here it was encountered by those pushing forward from below; and some confusion ensued. This was increased by the vigor with which the garrison now plied their musketry from the ramparts, hurling down at the same time heavy logs, hand-grenades, and torrents of scalding pitch on the heads of the assailing column, which, blinded and staggering under the shock, reeled to and fro like a drunken man. To add to their distress, the feet of the soldiers were torn and entangled among the spikes which had been thickly set in the ruins of the breach by the besieged. Woe to him who fell! His writhing body was soon trampled under the press. In vain the Moslem chiefs endeavored to restore order. Their voices were lost in the wild uproar that raged around. At this crisis the knights, charging at the head of their followers, cleared the breach, and drove the enemy with loss into his trenches.

There the broken column soon reformed, and, strengthened by fresh troops, was again brought to the attack. But this gave a respite to the garrison, which La Valette improved by causing refreshments to be served to the soldiers. By his provident care, skins containing wine and water, with rations of bread, were placed near the points of attack, to be distributed among the men.[22] The garrison, thus strengthened, were enabled to meet the additional forces brought against them by the enemy; and the refreshments on the one side were made, in some sort, to counterbalance the reinforcements on the other. Vessels filled with salt and water were also at hand, to bathe the wounds of such as were injured by the fireworks. "Without these various precautions," says the chronicler, "it would have been impossible for so few men as we were to keep our ground against such a host as now assailed us on every quarter." [23]

Again and again the discomfited Turks gathered strength for a new assault, and as often they were repulsed with the same loss as before,—till Piali drew off his dispirited legions, and abandoned all further attempts for that day.

It fared no better on the other quarter, where the besiegers, under the eye of the commander-in-chief, were storming the fortress of St. Michael.

[22] "Tenia mandado, que en todos los dias de assalto se llevassen por todas las postas adonde se peleasse, muchos buyvelos de vino aguado, y pan para refrescar su gente, pues de gente no podia." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 91.

[23] "Si todas estas buenas ordenes no uviera, no bastaran fuerças humanas para resistir a tanta furia pertinacia, principalmẽte siendo nosotros tan pocos, y ellos tantos." Ibid., ubi supra.

On every point the stout-hearted chivalry of St. John were victorious. But victory was bought at a heavy price.

The Turks returned to the attack on the day following, and on each succeeding day. It was evidently their purpose to profit by their superior numbers to harass the besieged and reduce them to a state of exhaustion. One of these assaults was near being attended with fatal consequences.

A mine which ran under the bastion of Castile was sprung, and brought down a wide extent of the rampart. The enemy, prepared for the event, mounting the smoking ruins, poured through the undefended breach,—or defended only by a handful of the garrison, who were taken unawares. The next minute, the great standard of the Ottomans was planted on the walls. The alarm was raised. In a few moments the enemy would have been in the heart of the town. An ecclesiastic of the order, Brother William by name, terrified at the sight, made all haste to the grand master, then at his usual station in the public square. Rushing into his presence, the priest called on him to take refuge, while he could, in the castle of St. Angelo, as the enemy had broken into the town. But the dauntless chief, snatching up his pike, with no other protection than his helmet, and calling out to those around him, "Now is the time! let us die together!" [24] hurried to the scene of action, where, rallying his followers, he fell furiously on the

[24] "El gran Maestre sin mudarse, ni alterarse de su semblante valeroso, dixo, Vamos a morir alla todos cavalleros, q̃ oy es el dia." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 90.

enemy. A sharp struggle ensued. More than one knight was struck down by La Valette's side. He himself was wounded in the leg by the splinter of a hand-grenade. The alarm-bell of the city rang violently. The cry was raised that the grand master was in danger. Knights, soldiers, and townsmen came rushing to the spot. Even the sick sprang from their beds and made such haste as they could to the rescue. The Moslems, pressed on all sides, and shaken by the resolute charge, fell back slowly on the breach.

The cavaliers would now fain have persuaded the grand master, who was still standing among a heap of the slain, to retire to some place of safety and leave the issue of the battle to his companions. But, fixing his eye on the Ottoman standard, still floating above the walls, he mournfully shook his head, in token of his resolution to remain. The garrison, spurred on by shame and indignation, again charged the Moslems, with greater fury than before. The colors, wrenched from the ramparts, were torn to shreds in the struggle. The Christians prevailed; and the Turks, quailing before their invincible spirit, were compelled, after a long and bloody contest, to abandon the works they had so nearly won.

Still the grand master, far from retiring, took up his quarters for the night in the neighborhood of the breach. He had no doubt that the enemy would return under cover of the darkness and renew the assault before the garrison had time to throw up retrenchments. It was in vain his companions besought him to withdraw, to leave the

fight to them, and not to risk a life so precious to the community. "And how can an old man like me," he said, "end his life more gloriously than when surrounded by his brethren and fighting the battles of the Cross?" [25]

La Valette was right in his conjecture. No sooner had the darkness fallen than the Turkish host, again under arms, came surging on across the ruins of the rampart towards the breach. But it was not under cover of the darkness; for the whole bay was illumined by the incessant flash of artillery, by the blaze of combustibles, and the fiery track of the missiles darting through the air. Thus the combat was carried on as by the light of day. The garrison, prepared for the attack, renewed the scenes of the morning, and again beat off the assailants, who, broken and dispirited, could not be roused, even by the blows of their officers, to return to the assault.[26]

On the following morning, La Valette caused *Te Deum* to be sung in the church of St. Lawrence, and thanks to be offered at the throne of grace for their deliverance. And if the ceremonies were not conducted with the accustomed pomp of

[25] Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. p. 24.

[26] Vertot speaks of this last attack as having been made on the eighteenth of August. His chronology may be corrected by that of Balbi, whose narrative, taking the form of a diary, in which the transactions of each day are separately noted, bears the stamp of much greater accuracy. Balbi gives the seventh of August as the date.—For the preceding pages see Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 89–93,—Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. pp. 18–24,—Calderon, Gloriosa Defensa de Malta, pp. 146–150,—De Thou, Histoire universelle, tom. v. p. 83, et seq.,—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 27,—Campana, Vita di Filippo Secondo, tom. ii. p. 16,—Leti, Vita di Filippo II., tom. i. p. 450.

the order of St. John, they were at least accompanied, says the chronicler, who bore his part in them, by the sacrifice of contrite hearts,—as was shown by the tears of many a man, as well as woman, in the procession.[27]

There was indeed almost as much cause for sorrow as for joy. However successful the Christians had been in maintaining their defence, and however severe the loss they had inflicted on the enemy, they had to mourn the loss of some of their most illustrious knights, while others lay disabled in their beds. Among the latter was De Monti, admiral of the order, now lying seriously ill of wounds received in the defence of St. Michael, of which he was commander. Among the deaths was one which came home to the bosom of La Valette. A young cavalier, his nephew, had engaged in a perilous enterprise with a comrade of his own age. The handsome person and gilded armor of the younger La Valette made him a fatal mark for the enemy;[28] and he fell, together with his friend, in the ditch before the bastion, under a shower of Turkish bullets. An obstinate struggle succeeded between Christians and Turks for the bodies of the slain. The Christians were victorious; and La Valette had the melancholy satisfaction of rendering the last offices to the remains of his gallant kinsman. The brethren would have condoled with

[27] "Y sino solenne como en esta religion se suele hazer, alomenos cõtrita a lo que las lagrimas de muchos hombres y mugeres davan señal." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 94.

[28] "Y como el comendador era hombre de linda disposicion, y armado de unas armas doradas y ricas, los turcos tiraron todos a el." Ibid., fol. 76.

him on his loss. But his generous nature shrank from the indulgence of a selfish sorrow. "All are alike dear to me," he said; "all of you I look on as my children. I mourn for Polastra" (the friend of the young Valette) "as I do for my own nephew. And, after all, it matters little. They have gone before us but for a short time."[29]

It was indeed no season for the indulgence of private sorrows, when those of a public nature pressed so heavily on the heart. Each day the condition of the besieged was becoming more critical. The tottering defences both of Il Borgo and La Sangle were wasting away under the remorseless batteries of the besiegers. Great numbers, not merely of the knights and the soldiers, but of the inhabitants, had been slain. The women of the place had shown, throughout the whole siege, the same heroic spirit as the men. They not only discharged the usual feminine duties of tending and relieving the sick, but they were often present in the battle, supplying the garrison with refreshments, or carrying the ammunition, or removing the wounded to the hospital. Thus sharing in the dangers of their husbands and fathers, they shared too in their fate. Many perished by the enemy's fire; and the dead bodies of women lay mingled among those of the men, on the ramparts and in the streets.[30] The hospitals were filled with the sick and wounded, though fortunately no epidemic had as yet broken out to swell the bills of mortality. Those of the garrison who were still in a condition

[29] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, ubi supra.—Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. p. 14.

[30] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 66, 82.

to do their duty were worn by long vigils and excessive toil. To fight by day, to raise intrenchments or to repair the crumbling works by night, was the hard duty of the soldier. Brief was the respite allowed him for repose,—a repose to be broken at any moment by the sound of the alarm-bell, and to be obtained only amidst so wild an uproar that it seemed, in the homely language of the veteran so often quoted, "as if the world were coming to an end." [31]

Happily, through the provident care of the grand master, there was still a store of provisions in the magazines. But the ammunition was already getting low. Yet the resolution of the besieged did not fail them. Their resolution had doubtless been strengthened by the cruel conduct of the Turks at St. Elmo, which had shown that from such a foe there was no mercy to be expected. The conviction of this had armed the Christians with the courage of despair. On foreign succor they no longer relied. Their only reliance was where their chief had taught them to place it,—on the protection of Heaven; and La Valette, we are assured, went every day during the siege to the church of St. Lawrence, and there solemnly invoked that protection for the brave men who, alone and unaided, were thus fighting the battles of the Faith.[32]

The forlorn condition of the defences led, at length, the council of Grand Crosses, after much deliberation, to recommend to La Valette to aban-

[31] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 78.

[32] "Muchas vezes solo se yva a san Lorenço, y alli en su apartamiento hazia sus oraciones. Y en este exercicio se occupava quando se tenia algun sosiego." Ibid., fol. 84.

don Il Borgo and to withdraw with the troops and the inhabitants into the castle of St. Angelo. The grand master saw at once the disastrous consequences of such a step, and he rejected it without a moment's hesitation. To withdraw into the castle, he said, would be to give up all communication with St. Michael, and to abandon its brave garrison to their fate. The inhabitants of the town would fare no better. The cistern which supplied St. Angelo with water would be wholly inadequate to the demands of such a multitude; and they would soon be reduced to extremity. "No, my brethren," he concluded; "here we must make our stand; and here we must die, if we cannot maintain ourselves against the infidel." [33]

He would not even consent to have the sacred relics, or the archives of the order, removed thither, as to a place of greater security. It would serve to discourage the soldiers, by leading them to suppose that he distrusted their power of maintaining the town against the enemy. On the contrary, he caused a bridge communicating with the castle to be broken down, after calling off the greater part of the garrison to assist in the defence of Il Borgo. By these measures he proclaimed his unalterable determination to maintain the town to the last, and, if need were, to die in its defence.[34]

[33] Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. p. 29.

[34] "Lo qual sabido por el gran Maestre como aquel que jamas penso sino morir el primo por su religion, y por quitar toda sospecha despues de aver hecho llevar en sant Angel todas las relinquias y cosas de mas valor, mando quitar la puente, dando a entender a todo el mundo que enel no avia retirar, sino morir en el Burgo, o defenderlo.—Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 94.—See also Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. p. 29,—Calderon, Gloriosa Defensa de Malta, p. 167, et seq.

CHAPTER V

SIEGE OF MALTA

The Turks dispirited—Reinforcement from Sicily—Siege raised—Mustapha defeated—Rejoicings of the Christians—Mortification of Solyman—Review of the Siege—Subsequent History of La Valette

1565

WHILE the affairs of the besieged wore the gloomy aspect depicted in the last chapter, those of the besiegers were not much better. More than half of their original force had perished. To the bloody roll of those who had fallen in the numerous assaults were now to be added the daily victims of pestilence. In consequence of the great heat, exposure, and bad food, a dysentery had broken out in the Moslem army and was now sweeping off its hundreds in a day. Both ammunition and provisions were running low. Ships bringing supplies were constantly intercepted by the Sicilian cruisers. Many of the heavy guns were so much damaged by the fire of the besieged as to require to be withdrawn and sent on board the fleet,—an operation performed with a silence that contrasted strongly with the noisy shouts with which the batteries had been raised.[1] But these movements could not be conducted so silently as to escape the notice of the garrison, whose spirits

[1] "Ya seles conocia, que les faltavan muchas pieças que avian embarcado, y cada noche se sentia como las retiravan, ala sorda sin los alaridos que davan al principio quando las plantaron." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 101.

were much revived by the reports daily brought in by deserters of the condition of the enemy.

Mustapha chafed not a little under the long-protracted resistance of the besieged. He looked with apprehension to the consequences of failure in an expedition for which preparations had been made on so magnificent a scale by his master and with so confident hopes of success. He did not fail to employ every expedient for effecting his object that the military science of that day—at least Turkish science—could devise. He ordered movable wooden towers to be built, such as were used under the ancient system of besieging fortified places, from which, when brought near to the works, his musketeers might send their volleys into the town. But the besieged, sallying forth, set fire to his towers and burned them to the ground. He caused a huge engine to be made, of the capacity of a hogshead, filled with combustibles, and then swung, by means of machinery, on the rampart of the bastion. But the garrison succeeded in throwing it back on the heads of the inventors, where it exploded with terrible effect. Mustapha ran his mines under the Christian defences, until the ground was perforated like a honey-comb and the garrison seemed to be treading on the crust of a volcano. La Valette countermined in his turn. The Christians, breaking into the galleries of the Turks, engaged them boldly under ground; and sometimes the mine, exploding, buried both Turk and Christian under a heap of ruins.

Baffled on every point, with their ranks hourly thinned by disease, the Moslem troops grew sullen

and dispirited; and now that the bastion of Castile, with its dilapidated works, stood like some warrior stripped of his armor, his defenceless condition inviting attack, they were in no heart to make it. As their fire slackened and their assaults became fewer and more feeble, the confidence of the Christians was renewed, until they even cherished the hope of beating off the enemy without the long-promised succors from Sicily. Fortunately for the honor of Spain, the chivalry of St. John were not driven to this perilous attempt.

Yielding, at length, to the solicitations of the knights and the enthusiasm of the army, the viceroy, Don Garcia de Toledo, assembled his fleet in the port of Syracuse, and on the twenty-fifth of August weighed anchor. The fleet consisted of twenty-eight galleys, and carried eleven thousand troops, chiefly Spanish veterans, besides two hundred knights of the order, who had arrived from other lands in time to witness the closing scene of the drama. There was also a good number of adventurers from Spain, France, and Italy, many of them persons of rank, and some of high military renown, who had come to offer their services to the knights of Malta and share in their glorious defence.

Unfortunately, in its short passage the fleet encountered a violent gale, which did so much damage that the viceroy was compelled to return to Sicily and repair his galleys. He then put to sea again, with better fortune. He succeeded in avoiding the notice of the enemy, part of whose armament lay off the mouth of the Great Port, to pre-

vent the arrival of succors to the besieged,—and on the sixth of September, under cover of the evening, entered the Bay of Melecca, on the western side of the island.[2]

The next morning, having landed his forces, with their baggage and military stores, the viceroy sailed again for Sicily, to bring over an additional reinforcement of four thousand troops, then waiting in Messina. He passed near enough to the beleaguered fortresses to be descried by the garrisons, whom he saluted with three salvos of artillery, that sent joy into their hearts.[3] It had a very different effect on the besiegers. They listened with nervous credulity to the exaggerated reports that soon reached them of the strength of the reinforcement landed in the island, by which they expected to be speedily assaulted in their trenches. Without delay, Mustapha made preparations for his departure. His heavy guns and camp-equipage were got on board the galleys and smaller vessels lying off the entrance of the Great Port,—and all as silently and expeditiously as possible. La Valette had hoped that some part of the Spanish reinforcement would be detached during the night to the aid of the garrison, when he proposed to sally on the enemy, and, if nothing better came of it, to get possession of their cannon, so much

[2] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 106, et seq.—Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. p. 33.—Calderon, Gloriosa Defensa de Malta, pp. 172–176.—De Thou, Histoire universelle, tom. v. p. 88.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 28.—Campana, Vita di Filippo Secondo, tom. ii. p. 166.

[3] "Como nuestra armada estuvo en parte q̃ la descubriamos claramente, cada galera tiro tres vezes." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 104.

needed for his own fortifications. But no such aid arrived; and through the long night he impatiently listened to the creaking of the wheels that bore off the artillery to the ships.[4]

With the first light of morning the whole Ottoman force was embarked on board the vessels, which, weighing anchor, moved round to Port Musiette, on the other side of St. Elmo, where the Turkish fleet, the greater part of which lay there, was now busily preparing for its departure. No sooner had the enemy withdrawn than the besieged poured out into the deserted trenches. One or two of those huge pieces of ordnance, which, from their unwieldy size, it was found impossible to remove, had been abandoned by the Turks, and remained a memorable trophy of the siege.[5] The Christians were not long in levelling the Moslem intrenchments; and very soon the flag of St. John was seen cheerily waving in the breeze, above the ruins of St. Elmo. The grand master now called his brethren together to offer up their devotions in the same church of St. Lawrence where he had so often invoked the protection of Heaven during the siege. "Never did music sound sweeter to human ears," exclaims Balbi, "than when those

[4] "En el retirar su artilleria, tan calladamente que no se sentia sino el chillido de las ruedas, y Dios sabe lo que al gran Maestre pesava, porque siempre tuvo esperança de ganarle parte della, si el soccorro se descubriera." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 105.

[5] The armory in the government palace of Valetta still contains a quantity of weapons, sabres, arquebuses, steel bows, and the like, taken at different times from the Turks. Among others is a cannon of singular workmanship, but very inferior in size to the two pieces of ordnance mentioned in the text. (See Bigelow's Travels in Malta and Sicily, p. 226.) Those glorious trophies of the great siege should have found a place among the national relics.

bells summoned us to mass, at the same hour at which, for three months past, they had sounded the alarm against the enemy." [6] A procession was formed of all the members of the order, the soldiers, and the citizens. The services were performed with greater solemnity, as well as pomp, than could be observed in the hurry and tumult of the siege; and, with overflowing hearts, the multitude joined in the *Te Deum*, and offered up thanks to the Almighty and the Blessed Virgin for their deliverance from their enemies.[7] It was the eighth of September, the day of the Nativity of the Virgin,—a memorable day in the annals of Malta, and still observed by the inhabitants as their most glorious anniversary.

Hardly had the Turkish galleys, with Mustapha on board, joined the great body of the fleet in Port Musiette, than that commander received such intelligence as convinced him that the report of the Spanish numbers had been greatly exaggerated. He felt that he had acted precipitately, thus without a blow to abandon the field to an enemy his inferior in strength. His head may well have trembled on his shoulders, as he thought of returning thus dishonored to the presence of his indignant master. Piali, it is said, was not displeased at the

[6] "Yo no creo que musica jamas consolasse humanos sentidos, como á nosotros consolo el son de nuestras campanas, alos ocho, dia dela Natividad de nuestra señora. Porque el gran Maestre las hizo tocar todas ala hora que se solia tocar al arma, y avia tres meses que no las aviamos oydo sino para arma." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 105.

[7] "Esta mañana pues tocaron la missa, la cual se canto muy de mañana, y en pontifical, muy solemnemente, dando gracias á nuestro señor Dios, y á su bendita madre por las gracias que nos avian hecho." Ibid., ubi supra.

mortification of his rival. The want of concert between them had in more than one instance interfered with the success of their operations. It was now, however, agreed that Mustapha should disembark, with such of the troops as were in fighting-order, and give battle to the Spaniards. Piali, meanwhile, would quit the port, which lay exposed to St. Elmo,—now in his enemy's hands,—and anchor farther west, in the roads of St. Paul.

The troops from Sicily, during this time, had advanced into the interior, in the neighborhood of *Citta Notable*,—or, as it is now called, *Citta Vecchia*. They were commanded by Ascanio de la Corña, an officer who had gained a name in the Italian wars. Alvaro de Sandé was second in command, the same captain who made so heroic a defence in the isle of Gelves against the Turks. The chivalrous daring of the latter officer was well controlled by the circumspection of the former.

La Valette, who kept a vigilant eye on the movements of the Turks, was careful to advise Don Ascanio that they had again disembarked, and were on their march against him. The Spanish general took up a strong position on an eminence the approach to which was rugged and difficult in the extreme. Thus secured, the prudent chief proposed to await the assault of the Moslems. But the knights of St. John who had accompanied the Sicilian succors, eager for vengeance on the hated enemies of their order, called loudly to be led against the infidel. In this they were joined by the fiery De Sandé and the greater part of the troops. When the Moslem

banners, therefore, came in sight, and the dense columns of the enemy were seen advancing across the country, the impatience of the Christians was not to be restrained. The voices of the officers were unheeded. Don Ascanio saw it was not wise to balk this temper of the troops. They were hastily formed in order of battle, and then, like a mountain-torrent, descended swiftly against the foe.

On their left was a hill, crowned by a small tower that commanded the plain. The Turks had succeeded in getting possession of this work. A detachment of Spaniards scaled the eminence, attacked the Turks, and, after a short struggle, carried the fort. Meanwhile, the Maltese chivalry, with Sandé and the great body of the army, fell with fury on the front and flanks of the enemy. The Turkish soldiers, disgusted by the long and disastrous siege, had embarked with great alacrity; and they had not repressed their murmurs of discontent when they were again made to land and renew the conflict. Sullen and disheartened, they were in no condition to receive the shock of the Spaniards. Many were borne down by it at once, their ranks were broken, and their whole body was thrown into disarray. Some few endeavored to make head against their assailants. Most thought only of securing safety by flight. The knights followed close on the fugitives. Now was the hour of vengeance. No quarter was given. Their swords were reddened with the blood of the infidel.[8]

[8] "No dexando de pelear aquel dia, y en sangrentar muy bien sus espadas." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 119.

Mustapha, careless of his own life, made the most intrepid efforts to save his men. He was ever in the hottest of the action. Twice he was unhorsed, and had nearly fallen into the hands of his enemies. At length, rallying a body of musketeers, he threw himself into the rear, to cover the retreat of the army. Facing about, he sent such a well-directed volley among his pursuers, who were coming on in disorder, that they were compelled to halt. Don Alvaro's horse was slain under him. Several knights were wounded or brought to the ground. But, as those in the rear came up, Mustapha was obliged to give way, and was soon swept along with the tide of battle in the direction of the port of St. Paul, where the fleet was at anchor. Boats were in readiness to receive the troops; and a line of shallops, filled with arquebusiers, was drawn up alongside of them, to cover the embarkation. But the Spaniards, hurried forward by the heat of the pursuit, waded up to their girdles into the sea, and maintained an incessant fire on the fugitives, many of whom fell under it, while others, vainly endeavoring to swim to the ships, perished in the waves; and their bodies, tossed upon the sands, continued for many a day to poison the atmosphere.[9] This was the last effort of Mustapha; and the Turkish admiral, gathering

[9] "Lo qual se vio claramente dende a dos o tres dias porque los cuerpos que se avian ahogado subieron encima del agua, los quales eran tantos que parecian mas de tres mil, y avia tanto hedor en todo aquello que no se podia hombre llegar ala cala." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 120.—As an offset against the three thousand of the enemy who thus perished by fire and water, the chronicler gives us four Christians slain in the fight, and four smothered from excessive heat in their armor!

together the wreck of his forces, again weighed anchor, and, spreading his sails to the breeze, steered his course for the Levant.[10]

The principal officers of the Spanish army, together with the knights, then crossed over to Il Borgo.[11] They met there with a cordial welcome; but the knights, as they embraced their comrades, were greatly shocked by their appearance,—their wan and care-worn countenances, their emaciated figures, their long and matted hair, and their squalid attire. Many were disfigured by honorable scars; some were miserably maimed; others wore bandages over wounds not yet healed. It was a piteous sight, too plainly intimating the extremity of suffering to which they had been reduced; and as the knights gazed on their brethren, and called to mind the friends they had lost, their hearts were filled with unspeakable anguish.[12]

On the fourteenth of September, the viceroy reappeared with the fleet, bearing the remainder of the reinforcement from Sicily. The admiral's pennant displayed a cross, intimating that it was a holy war in which they were engaged.[13] As the

[10] For the preceding pages see Balbi (Verdadera Relacion, fol. 117–121), who contrived to be present in the action; also Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. pp. 35–37,—De Thou, Histoire universelle, tom. v. p. 89,—Miniana, Hist. de España, p. 353,—Campana, Vita di Filippo Secondo, tom. ii. p. 160,—Herrera, Historia general, tom. i. p. 591,—Calderon, Gloriosa Defensa de Malta, p. 180, et seq.

[11] "Se vinieron al Burgo, tanto por ver la persona del gran Maestre tan dichosa y valerosa, como por ver la grandissima disformidad y llaneza de nuestras baterias." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 121.

[12] Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. p. 39.

[13] "Al entrar del qual despues que la Real capitana uvo puesto sus estandartes los pusieron todas las demas, y muy ricos, la Real traya enla flama un crucifixo muy devoto." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 122.

squadron came proudly up the Great Port, with pennons and streamers gayly flying from its masts, it was welcomed by salvos of artillery from the fortresses and bastions around; and the rocky shores, which had so long reverberated only with the din of war, now echoed to the sounds of jubilee.

The grand master came down to the landing-place below St. Angelo, to receive the viceroy, with the nobles and cavaliers who followed in his train. They had come too late to share the dangers of the besieged, but not too late to partake their triumph. They were courteously conducted by La Valette, across the scene of desolation, to his own palace, which, though in an exposed quarter of the town, had so far escaped as to be still habitable. As the strangers gazed on the remains of the fortifications, nearly levelled to the ground, they marvelled that the shadowy forms which they saw gliding among the ruins could have so long held out against the Moslem armies. Well had they earned for their city the title of *Vittoriosa*, "The Victorious," which, supplanting that of Il Borgo, still commemorates its defence against the infidel.

La Valette had provided an entertainment for his illustrious guests, as good as his limited resources would allow; but it is said that the banquet was reinforced by a contribution from the viceroy's own stores.[14] On the departure of the

[14] "Fueronse para Palacio, adonde dio el gran Maestre a todos muy realmente de cenar, porque ya el governador del Gozo le avia embiado muchos refrescos, y don Garcia y todos los capitanes del armada le presentaron de la misma manera." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 122.

Spaniards he showed his gratitude, while he indulged his munificent spirit, by bestowing handsome presents on the captains and a liberal largess of money on the soldiers.[15]

On his way, the viceroy had discovered the Ottoman fleet formed in compact order and standing under press of sail towards the east. He was too far inferior in strength to care to intercept its course;[16] and the squadron reached in safety the port of Constantinople. Solyman had already received despatches preparing him for the return of the fleet and the failure of the expedition. It threw him into one of those paroxysms of ungovernable passion to which the old sultan seems to have been somewhat addicted in the latter years of his life. With impotent fury, he stamped on the letters, it is said, and, protesting that there was none of his officers whom he could trust, he swore to lead an expedition against Malta the coming year and put every man in the island to the sword![17] He had the magnanimity, however, not to wreak his vengeance on the unfortunate commanders. The less to attract public notice, he caused the fleet bearing the shattered remains of the army to come into port in the night-time, thus affording a contrast sufficiently striking to the spectacle presented by the brilliant armament which a few months before had sailed from the

[15] Balbi expresses his satisfaction at the good cheer, declaring that the dainties brought by the viceroy, however costly, seemed cheap to men who had been paying two ducats for a fowl, and a real and a half for an egg. Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, ubi supra.

[16] Herrera, Historia general, vol. i. p. 592.

[17] Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. p. 38.

Golden Horn amidst the joyous acclamations of the multitude.

The arms of Solyman the Second, during his long and glorious reign, met with no reverse so humiliating as his failure in the siege of Malta. To say nothing of the cost of the maritime preparations, the waste of life was prodigious, amounting to more than thirty thousand men, Moors included, and comprehending the very best troops in the empire. This was a loss of nearly three-fourths of the original force of the besieging army,—an almost incredible amount, showing that pestilence had been as actively at work as the sword of the enemy.[18]

Yet the loss in this siege fell most grievously on the Christians. Full two hundred knights, twenty-five hundred soldiers, and more than seven thousand inhabitants,—men, women, and children,—are said to have perished.[19] The defences of the island were razed to the ground. The towns were in ruins, the villages burnt, the green harvests cut down before they had time to ripen. The fiery

[18] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 121.—De Thou reduces the mortality to twenty thousand (Hist. universelle, tom. v. p. 592). Herrera, on the other hand, raises it to forty thousand (Historia general, tom. i. p. 90). The whole Moslem force, according to Balbi, was forty-eight thousand, exclusive of seamen. Of these about thirty thousand were Turks. The remainder belonged to the contingents furnished by Dragut and Hassem. Conf. fol. 25 and 121.

[19] Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 128.—Balbi gives a list of all the knights who perished in the siege. Cabrera makes a similar estimate of the Christian loss (Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 28). De Thou rates it somewhat lower (Hist. universelle, tom. v. p. 90); and Vertot lower still (Knights of Malta, vol. iii. p. 38). Yet Balbi may be thought to show too little disposition, on other occasions, to exaggerate the loss of his own side, for us to suspect him of exaggeration here.

track of war was over every part of Malta. Well might the simple inhabitants rue the hour when the Knights of St. John first set foot upon their shores. The military stores were exhausted, the granaries empty; the treasury was at the lowest ebb. The members of the order had now to begin the work of constructing their fortunes over again. But still they enjoyed the glory of victory. They had the proud consciousness of having baffled, with their own good swords, the whole strength of the Ottoman empire. The same invincible spirit still glowed in their bosoms, and they looked forward with unshaken confidence to the future.

Such were the results of this memorable siege, —one of the most memorable sieges, considering the scale of the preparations, the amount of the forces, and the spirit of the defence, which are recorded on the pages of history. It would not be easy, even for a military man, after the lapse of three centuries, to criticise with any degree of confidence the course pursued by the combatants, so as to determine to what causes may be referred the failure of the besiegers. One obvious fault, and of the greatest moment, was that already noticed, of not immediately cutting off the communications with St. Elmo, by which supplies were constantly thrown into that fortress from the opposite side of the harbor. Another, similar in its nature, was, that, with so powerful a navy as the Turks had at their command, they should have allowed communications to be maintained by the besieged with Sicily, and reinforcements thus

introduced into the island. We find Mustapha and Piali throwing the blame of this mutually on each other, especially in the case of Cardona, whose most seasonable succors might easily have been intercepted, either by land or by sea, with proper vigilance on the part of the Turkish commanders. A serious impediment in the way of the besiegers was the impossibility of forcing a subsistence for the troops from a barren spot like Malta, and the extreme difficulty of obtaining supplies from other quarters, when so easily intercepted by the enemy's cruisers. Yet the Turkish galleys lying idle in the western port might have furnished a ready convoy, one might suppose, for transports bringing provisions from the Barbary coast. But we find no such thing attempted. To all these causes of failure must be added the epidemic, which, generated under the tropical heats of a Maltese summer, spread like a murrain through the camp of the besiegers, sweeping them off by thousands.

It operated well for the besieged that the great advance made in the science of fortification was such, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, as in a great degree to counterbalance the advantages secured to the besiegers by the use of artillery,—especially such clumsy artillery, and so awkwardly served, as that of the Turks. But these advantages would have proved of little worth had it not been for the character of the men who were to profit by them. It was the character of the defenders that constituted the real strength of the defence. This was the true bulwark that

resisted every effort of the Ottoman arms when all outward defences were swept away. Every knight was animated by a sentiment of devotion to his order, and that hatred to the infidel in which he had been nursed from his cradle and which had become a part of his existence. These sentiments he had happily succeeded in communicating to his followers, and even to the people of the island. Thus impelled by an unswerving principle of conduct, the whole body exhibited that unity and promptness of action which belongs to an individual. From the first hour of the siege to the last, all idea of listening to terms from the enemy was rejected. Every man was prepared to die rather than surrender. One exception only occurred,—that of a private soldier in La Sangle, who, denying the possibility of holding out against the Turks, insisted on the necessity of accepting the terms offered to the garrison. The example of his cowardice might have proved contagious; and the wretched man expiated his offence on the gallows.[20]

Above all, the strength of the besieged lay in the character of their chief. La Valette was one of those rare men whom Providence seems to raise up for special occasions, so wonderfully are their peculiar qualities suited to the emergency. To that attachment to his order which he had in common with his brethren, he united a strong religious

[20] "En todo este sitio no se a justiciado sino un solo Italiano Senes, el qual mando justiciar Melchior de Robles: porque dixo publicamente estando en el mayor aprieto, que mas valiera que tomaramos las quatro pagas que los turcos nos ofrecian, y el passage." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 128.

sentiment, sincere and self-sacrificing, which shone through every act of his life. This gave him an absolute ascendency over all his followers, which he had the capacity to turn to full account. He possessed many of the requisites for success in action; great experience, a quick eye, a cool judgment. To these was united a fixedness of purpose not to be shaken by menace or entreaty, and which was only to be redeemed from the imputation of obstinacy by the extraordinary character of the circumstances in which he was placed. The reader will recall a memorable example, when La Valette insisted on defending St. Elmo to the last, in defiance not only of the remonstrance, but the resistance, of its garrison. Another equally pertinent is his refusal, though in opposition to his council, to abandon the town and retire to St. Angelo. One can hardly doubt that on his decision, in both these cases, rested the fate of Malta.

La Valette was of a serious turn, and, as it would seem, with a tendency to sadness in his temperament. In the portraits that remain of him, his noble features are touched with a shade of melancholy, which, taken in connection with his history, greatly heightens the interest of their expression. His was not the buoyant temper, the flow of animal spirits, which carries a man over every obstacle in his way. Yet he could comfort the sick and cheer the desponding; not by making light of danger, but by encouraging them like brave men fearlessly to face it. He did not delude his followers by the promises—after he had himself found them to be delusive—of foreign

succor. He taught them, instead, to rely on the succor of the Almighty, who would never desert those who were fighting in his cause. He infused into them the spirit of martyrs,—that brave spirit which, arming the soul with contempt of death, makes the weak man stronger than the strongest.

There is one mysterious circumstance in the history of this siege which has never been satisfactorily explained,—the conduct of the viceroy of Sicily. Most writers account for it by supposing that he only acted in obedience to the secret instructions of his master, unwilling to hazard the safety of his fleet by interfering in behalf of the knights, unless such interference became absolutely necessary. But even on such a supposition the viceroy does not stand excused; for it was little less than a miracle that the knights were not exterminated before he came to their relief; and we can hardly suppose that an astute, far-sighted prince, like Philip, who had been so eager to make conquests from the Moslems in Africa, would have consented that the stronghold of the Mediterranean should pass into the hands of the Turks. It seems more probable that Don Garcia, aware of the greater strength of the Turkish armament, and oppressed by the responsibility of his situation as viceroy of Sicily, should have shrunk from the danger to which that island would be exposed by the destruction of his fleet. On any view of the case, it is difficult to explain a course so irreconcilable with the plan of operations concerted with the grand master, and the promises of support

given to him by Don Garcia at the beginning of the siege.

La Valette, we are told, subsequently complained of the viceroy's conduct to Pius the Fifth; and that pontiff represented the affair to the king of Spain. Don Garcia had, soon after, the royal permission to retire from the government of Sicily. He withdrew to the kingdom of Naples, where he passed the remainder of his days, without public employment of any kind, and died in obscurity.[21] Such a fate may not be thought, after all, conclusive evidence that he had not acted in obedience to the private instructions of his sovereign.

The reader, who has followed La Valette through the siege of Malta, may perhaps feel some curiosity to learn the fate of this remarkable man. The discomfiture of the Turks caused a great sensation throughout Europe. In Rome the tidings were announced by the discharge of cannon, illuminations, and bonfires. The places of public business were closed. The shops were shut. The only places opened were the churches; and thither persons of every rank—the pope, the cardinals, and the people—thronged in procession, and joined in public thanksgiving for the auspicious event. The rejoicing was great all along the shores of the Mediterranean, where the inhabitants had so severely suffered from the ravages of the Turks. The name of La Valette was on every

[21] For this act of retributive justice, so agreeable to the feelings of the reader, I have no other authority to give than Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. p. 18.

tongue, as that of the true champion of the cross. Crowned heads vied with one another in the honors and compliments which they paid him. The king of Spain sent him a present of a sword and poniard, the handles of which were of gold superbly mounted with diamonds. The envoy, who delivered these in presence of the assembled knights, accompanied the gift with a pompous eulogy on La Valette himself, whom he pronounced the greatest captain of the age, beseeching him to continue to employ his sword in defence of Christendom. Pius the Fifth sent him —what, considering the grand master's position, may be thought a singular compliment—a cardinal's hat. La Valette, however, declined it, on the ground that his duties as a cardinal would interfere with those which devolved on him as head of the order. Some referred his refusal to modesty; others, with probably quite as much reason, to his unwillingness to compromise his present dignity by accepting a subordinate station.[22]

But La Valette had no time to dally with idle compliments and honors. His little domain lay in ruins around him; and his chief thought now was how to restore its fortunes. The first year after the siege, the knights had good reason to fear a new invasion of the Moslems; and Philip quartered a garrison of near fifteen thousand troops in the island for its protection.[23] But Solyman

[22] Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. pp. 39, 40.—Calderon, Gloriosa Defensa de Malta, pp. 189, 190.—De Thou, Hist. universelle, tom. v. p. 91.

[23] "Havia en la Isla de Malta quinze mil hombres de pelea, los quales bastaran para resistir a qualquiera poder del gran Turco en

fortunately turned his arms against a nearer enemy, and died in the course of the same year, while carrying on the war against Hungary.[24] Selim, his successor, found another direction for his ambition. Thus relieved of his enemies, the grand master was enabled to devote all his energies to the great work of rebuilding his fallen capital and placing the island in a more perfect state of defence than it had ever been. He determined on transferring the residence of the order to the high land of Mount Sceberras, which divides the two harbors and which would give him the command of both. His quick eye readily discerned those advantages of the position, which time has since fully proved. Here he resolved to build his capital, to surround it with fortifications, and, at the same time, to enlarge and strengthen those of St. Elmo.

But his treasury was low. He prepared a plan of his improvements, which he sent to the different European princes, requesting their co-operation, and urging the importance to them all of maintaining Malta as the best bulwark against the infidel. His plan met with general approbation. Most of the sovereigns responded to his appeal by

campaña rasa." Balbi, Verdadera Relacion, fol. 129.—Besides the Spanish forces, a body of French adventurers took service under La Valette, and remained for some time in Malta.

[24] Vertot tells us that the projected expedition of Solyman against Malta was prevented by the destruction of the grand arsenal of Constantinople, which was set on fire by a secret emissary of La Valette. (Knights of Malta, vol. iii. p. 41.) We should be better pleased if the abbé had given his authority for this strange story, the probability of which is not at all strengthened by what we know of the grand master's character.

liberal contributions,—and among them the French king, notwithstanding his friendly relations with the sultan. To these funds the members of the order freely added whatever each could raise by his own credit. This amount was still further swelled by the proceeds of prizes brought into port by the Maltese cruisers,—an inexhaustible source of revenue.

Funds being thus provided, the work went forward apace. On the twenty-eighth day of March, 1566, the grand master, clad in his robes of ceremony, and in the presence of a vast concourse of knights and inhabitants, laid the first stone of the new capital. It was carved with his own arms; and a Latin inscription recorded the name of "Valetta," which the city was to bear in honor of its founder.[25] More than eight thousand men were employed on the work; and a bull of Pius the Fifth enjoined that their labors should not be suspended on fête-days.[26] It seemed to be regarded as a Christian duty to provide for the restoration of Malta.[27] La Valette superintended the opera-

[25] It was common for the Maltese cities, after the Spanish and Italian fashion, to have characteristic epithets attached to their names. La Valette gave the new capital the title of "*Umillima*,"—"most humble,"—intimating that humility was a virtue of highest price with the fraternity of St. John. See Boisgelin, Ancient and Modern Malta, vol. i. p. 29.

[26] "Plus de huit mille ouvriers y furent employés; et afin d'avancer plus aisément les travaux, le Pape Pie V. commanda qu'on y travaillât sans discontinuer, même les jours de Fêtes." Helyot, Hist. des Ordres religieux.

[27] The style of the architecture of the new capital seems to have been, to some extent, formed on that of Rhodes, though, according to Lord Carlisle, of a more ornate and luxuriant character than its model: "I traced much of the military architecture of Rhodes, which, grave and severe there, has here both swelled into great ampli-

tions in person. He was ever to be seen on the spot, among the workmen. There he took his meals, discussed affairs of state with his council, and even gave audience to envoys from abroad.[28]

In the midst of these quiet occupations, there were some occurrences which distracted the attention and greatly disturbed the tranquillity of La Valette. One of these was the disorderly conduct of some of the younger knights. Another was a dispute in which he was involved with the pope, who, in the usual encroaching spirit of the Vatican, had appropriated to himself the nomination to certain benefices belonging to the order.

These unpleasant affairs weighed heavily on the grand master's mind; and he often sought to relieve his spirits by the diversion of hawking, of which he was extremely fond. While engaged in this sport, on a hot day in July, he received a stroke of the sun. He was immediately taken to Il Borgo. A fever set in; and it soon became apparent that his frame, enfeebled by his unparalleled fatigues and hardships, was rapidly sinking under it. Before dying, he called around his bed some of the brethren to whom the management of affairs was chiefly committed, and gave them his counsel in respect to the best method of carrying out his plans. He especially enjoined on them to maintain a spirit of unity among themselves, if

tude and blossomed into copious efflorescence; it is much the same relation as Henry VII.'s Chapel bears to a bit of Durham Cathedral." (Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters, p. 200.) The account of Malta is not the least attractive portion of this charming work, to which Felton's notes have given additional value.

[28] Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. p. 42.

they would restore the order to its ancient prosperity and grandeur. By his testament, he liberated his slaves, some fifty in number; and he obtained the consent of his brethren to bequeath a sum sufficient to endow a chapel he had built in Valetta to commemorate his victory over the infidels. It was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; and in this chapel he desired that his body might be laid. Having completed these arrangements, he expired on the twenty-first of August, 1568.

La Valette's dying commands were punctually executed by his brethren. The coffin enclosing his remains was placed on board of the admiral's galley, which, with four others that escorted it, was shrouded in black. They bore the household of the deceased, and the members of the order. The banners taken by him in battle with the Moslems were suspended from the sterns of the vessels, and trailed through the water. The procession, on landing, took its way through the streets of the embryo capital, where the sounds of labor were now hushed, to the chapel of Our Lady of Victory. The funeral obsequies were there performed with all solemnity; and the remains of the hero were consigned to the tomb, amidst the tears of the multitude, who had gathered from all parts of the island, to pay this sad tribute of respect to his memory.[29]

The traveller who visits Malta at the present day finds no object more interesting than the stately cathedral of Valetta, still rich in historical

[29] Vertot, Knights of Malta, vol. iii. pp. 42–48.—Boisgelin, Ancient and Modern Malta, vol. i. pp. 127–142.

memorials and in monuments of art, of which even French rapacity could not despoil it. As he descends into its crypts and wanders through its subterranean recesses, he sees the niche where still repose the remains of La Valette, surrounded by the brave chivalry who fought, side by side with him, the battles of the Faith. And surely no more fitting place could be found for his repose than the heart of the noble capital which may be said to have been created by his genius.[30]

The Knights of St. John continued, in the main, faithful to the maxims of La Valette and to the principles of their institution. For more than two centuries after his death, their sword was ever raised against the infidel. Their galleys still returned to port freighted with the spoils of the barbarian. They steadily continued to advance in power and opulence; and while empires rose and crumbled around them, this little brotherhood of warlike monks, after a lapse of more than seven centuries from its foundation, still maintained a separate and independent existence.

In the long perspective of their annals there was no event which they continued to hold in so much honor as the defence of Malta by La Valette. The eighth of September—the day of the nativity of the Virgin—continued to the last to be celebrated as their proudest anniversary. On that

[30] An interesting description of this cathedral, well styled the Westminster Abbey of Malta, may be found in Bigelow's Travels in Sicily and Malta (p. 190),—a work full of instruction, in which the writer, allowing himself a wider range than that of the fashionable tourist, takes a comprehensive survey of the resources of the countries he has visited, while he criticises their present condition by an enlightened comparison with the past.

day the whole body of the knights, and the people of the capital, walked in solemn procession, with the grand master at their head, to the church of St. John. A knight, wearing the helmet and mailed armor of the ancient time, bore on high the victorious standard of the order. A page by his side carried the superb sword and poniard presented by Philip the Second. As the procession passed into the church, and the standard was laid at the foot of the altar, it was announced by flourishes of trumpets and by peals of artillery from the fortresses. The services were performed by the prior of St. John's; and, while the Gospel was read, the grand master held the naked sword aloft, in token that the knights were ever ready to do battle for the Cross.[31] When the ceremony was concluded, a fine portrait of La Valette was exhibited to the people; and the brethren gazed with feelings of reverence on his majestic lineaments, as on those of the saviour of their order.[32]

But all this is changed. The Christians, instead of being banded against the Turk, now rally in his defence. There are no longer crusades against the infidel. The age of chivalry has passed. The objects for which the Knights Hospitallers were instituted have long since ceased to exist; and it

[31] "Lorsqu'on commence l'Evangile, le Grand-Maître la prend des mains du Page et la tient toute droite pendant le tems de l'Evangile. C'est la seule occasion où l'on tient l'épée nue à l'Eglise." Helyot, Hist. des Ordres religieux, tom. iii. p. 93.

[32] Boisgelin, Ancient and Modern Malta, vol. i. p. 35.—The good knight dwells with complacency on the particulars of a ceremony in which he had often borne a part himself. It recalled to his mind the glorious days of an order which he fondly hoped might one day be restored to its primitive lustre.

was fitting that the institution, no longer needed, should die with them. The knights who survived the ruin of their order became wanderers in foreign lands. Their island has passed into the hands of the stranger; and the flag of England now waves from the ramparts on which once floated the banner of St. John.

CHAPTER VI

DON CARLOS

His Education and Character—Dangerous Illness—Extravagant Behavior—Opinions respecting him—His Connection with the Flemings—Project of Flight—Insane Conduct—Arrest

1567, 1568

WE must now, after a long absence, return to the shores of Spain, where events were taking place of the highest importance to the future fortunes of the monarchy. At the time when the tragic incidents described in the preceding Book were passing in the Netherlands, others, not less tragic, if we may trust to popular rumor, were occurring in the very palace of the monarch. I allude to the death of Don Carlos, prince of Asturias, and that of Isabella of Valois, Philip's young and beautiful queen. The relations in which the two parties stood to each other, their untimely fate, and the mystery in which it was enveloped, have conspired with the sombre, unscrupulous character of Philip to suggest the most horrible suspicions of the cause of their death. The mystery which hung over them in their own time has not been dissipated by the researches of later chroniclers. For that very reason, it has proved an inexhaustible theme for fiction, until it might be thought to have passed from the domain of his-

tory into that of romance. It has been found especially suited to the purposes of the drama; and the dramatic literature of Europe contains more than one masterpiece from the hand of genius, which displays in sombre coloring the loves and the misfortunes of Carlos and Isabella.[1]

The time for discussing so dark and intricate a subject had not arrived while the Spanish archives were jealously locked up even from native scholars. But now that happily a more liberal system has prevailed, and access has been given to the dread repositories of the secrets of the Spanish sovereigns, the time seems to have come for investigating this mysterious story. And if I cannot boast that I have been able to dispel the doubts that have so long gathered around the subject, I may at least flatter myself that, with the materials at my command, I have the means of placing the reader in a better point of view than has yet been enjoyed for surveying the whole ground and forming his own conclusions.

Don Carlos was born on the eighth of July, 1545. His mother, Mary of Portugal, then only eighteen years of age, died a few days after giving birth to her ill-fated child. Thus deprived from the cradle of a mother's watchful care, he experienced almost as little of his father's; for

[1] Alfieri, Schiller, and, in our day, Lord John Russell, have, each according to his own conceptions, exhibited the poetic aspect of the story to the eyes of their countrymen. The Castilian dramatist Montalvan, in his "Príncipe Don Carlos," written before the middle of the seventeenth century, shows more deference to historic accuracy, as well as to the reputation of Isabella, by not mixing her up in any way with the fortunes of the prince of Asturias.

DOM CARLOS PRINCE
DES ESPAGNES MORT
EN 1568

until Carlos was fourteen years old Philip was absent most of the time, either in the Low Countries or in England. The care of the child was intrusted during the greater part of this period to Philip's sister, the Regent Joanna,—an excellent woman, but who, induced probably by the feeble constitution of Carlos, is said to have shown too much indulgence to the boy, being more solicitous to secure his bodily health than to form his character. In our easy faith in the miracles claimed for education, it sometimes happens that we charge on the parent or the preceptor the defects that may be more reasonably referred to the vicious constitution of the child.

As Carlos grew older, Philip committed the care of his instruction to Honorato Juan, a member of the emperor's household. He was a well-trained scholar, and a man of piety as well as learning; and soon after assuming the task of the prince's preceptor he embraced the religious profession. The correspondence of Honorato Juan with Philip, then in Flanders, affords a view of the proficiency of Carlos when eleven or twelve years old. The contentment which the king evinces in the earlier letters diminishes as we advance; and anxious doubts are expressed, as he gathers the unwelcome information from his tutor of his pupil's indifference to his studies.[2]

In the year 1556, Charles the Fifth stopped some time at Valladolid, on his way to his clois-

[2] This correspondence is printed in a curious volume, of the greatest rarity, entitled, Elogios de Don Honorato Juan (Valencia, 1659), p. 60, et seq.

tered retreat at Yuste.* He there saw his grandson, and took careful note of the boy, the heir to the vast dominions which he had himself so recently relinquished. He told over his campaigns to Carlos, and how he had fled at Innsbruck, where he barely escaped falling into the hands of the enemy. Carlos, who listened eagerly, interrupted his grandfather, exclaiming, "I never would have fled!" Charles endeavored to explain the necessity of the case; but the boy sturdily maintained that he never would have fled,—amusing and indeed delighting the emperor, who saw in this the mettle of his own earlier days.[3] Yet Charles was not blind to the defects of his grandson,—to the wayward, overbearing temper, which inferred too much indulgence on the part of his daughter the regent. He reprehended Carlos for his want of

[3] "Egli in collera reiterò con maraviglia et riso di S. M. et de' circumstanti, che mai egli non saria fuggito." Relatione di Badoaro, MS.

* [On hearing of the emperor's arrival in Castile, his grandson had shown an extreme desire to see him, and, not being permitted to go and meet him, had sent one of his attendants with a short letter, written, as his governor, Don Garcia de Toledo, states, without assistance from any one,—"sin ayudarse de nadie." It has been printed in fac-simile by M. Gachard, and both the expressions and the handwriting—the latter singularly legible and in no respect resembling a schoolboy's scrawl—seem to disprove the notion that Don Carlos was naturally defective in intelligence and incapable of instruction. ("S. C. C. M^t, Yo e sabido que V. M^t está en salvamento, y e holgado dello infinitamente, tanto que no lo puedo mas encarecer. Suplico á V. M^t me haga saber si e de salir á recebir á V M^t, y adónde. Ay va don Pedro Pimentel, gentilhombre de mi cámara y mi embaxador, al qual suplico á V. M^t mande lo que en esto se ha de hazer, para que él me lo escriva. Beso las manos de V. M^t. En Valladolid, 2 de otubre. Muy humilde hijo de V. M^t, El Principe.") The accents and punctuation have been added by M. Gachard, without the necessity for any change in the orthography.—K.]

deference to his aunt; and he plainly told the latter that if she would administer more wholesome correction to the boy the nation would have reason to thank her for it.[4]

After the emperor had withdrawn to his retreat, his mind, which kept its hold, as we have seen, on all matters of public interest beyond the walls of the monastery, still reverted to his grandson, the heir of his name and of his sceptre. At Simancas the correspondence is still preserved which he carried on with Don Garcia de Toledo, a brother of the duke of Alva, who held the post of *ayo*, or governor of the prince. In one of that functionary's letters, written in 1557, when Carlos was twelve years old, we have a brief chronicle of the distribution of the prince's time, somewhat curious, as showing the outlines of a royal education in that day.

Before seven in the morning Carlos rose, and by half-past eight had breakfasted, and attended mass. He then went to his studies, where he continued till the hour of dinner. What his studies were we are not told. One writer of the time says, among other things, he read Cicero's Offices, in order the better to learn to control his passions.[5] At eleven he dined. He then amused himself with his companions by playing at quoits, or at *trucos*, a kind of billiards, or in fencing, and occasionally

[4] "Reprehendio al Principe su nieto su poca mesura i mucha desenboltura con que vivia i trataba con su tia, i encomendòla su correccion, diziendo era en lo q̃ mas podia obligar a todos." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. ii. cap. 11.

[5] "Ne attende ad altro che a leggirli gli officii di M. Tullio per acquetare quei troppo ardenti desiderii." Relatione di Badoaro, MS.

riding. At half-past three came a light repast, the *merienda;* after which he listened to reading, or, if the weather was fine, strolled in the fields. In the evening he supped; and at half-past nine, having gone through the prayers of his rosary, he went to bed, where, as his *ayo* says, he usually made but one nap of it till the morning. It was certainly a primitive way of life, in which more regard seems to have been had to the cravings of the body than of the mind, and as regular in its routine as the monastic life of his grandfather at Yuste. Yet Don Garcia does not fail to intimate his discontent with the want of interest shown by his pupil not merely in his studies, but in fencing, cane-playing, and other manly exercises, so essential to the education of a cavalier of that day.[6] He notices, at the same time, the first symptoms of those bilious attacks which already menaced the prince's constitution, and so effectually undermined it in later years.[7]

In another epistle, Don Garcia suggests that it might be well for the emperor to allow Carlos to visit him at Yuste, trusting that his grandfather's authority would accomplish what his own had failed to do.[8] But this suggestion found no favor,

[6] "En lo del estudio esta poco aprovechado, porque lo haze de mala gana y ansy mesmo los otros exercicios de jugar y esgremyr, que para todo es menester premya." Carta de Garcia de Toledo al Emperador, 27 de Agosto, 1557, MS.

[7] "Hasta agora no se que los medicos ayan tratado de dar ninguna cosa al principe para la colera, ny yo lo consintiera hazer, sin dar primero quenta dello a vuestra magestad." Ibid.

[8] "Deseo mucho que V. M. fuese servido que el principe diese una buelta por allá para velle por que entendidos los impedimentos que en su edad tiene mandasse V. M. lo que fuera de la horden con que yo le sirvo se deba mudar." Del mismo al mismo, 13 de Abril, 1558, MS.

apparently, with the royal recluse, who probably was not disposed to do penance himself by receiving so troublesome an inmate in his family. The emperor's own death, which occurred shortly after this, spared him the misery of witnessing the disastrous career of his grandson.

The reports of the Venetian ministers—those precious documents that contain so much instruction in respect to matters both of public and domestic interest—make occasional allusions to the prince at this period. Their notices are by no means flattering. They describe Carlos as of a reckless, impatient temper, fierce, and even cruel, in his disposition,[9] and so arrogant as to be unwilling to stand with his head uncovered, for any long time, in the presence of the emperor or his father.[10] Yet this harsh picture is somewhat redeemed by other traits; for he was generous, though to a degree of prodigality,—giving away his trinkets and jewels, even his clothes, in default of money. He had a fearless heart with a strong passion for a military life. He was far from frivolous in his tastes, despising buffoons, and saying himself so many good things that his tutor carefully made a collection of them.[11] This portrait of a youth

[9] So cruel, according to the court gossip picked up by Badoaro, that, when hares and other game were brought to him, he would occasionally amuse himself by roasting them alive!—"Dimostra havere un animo fiero, et tra gli effetti che si raccontano uno è, che alle volte, che dalla caccia gli viene portato o lepre o simile animale, si diletta di verdirli arrostire vivi." Relatione de Baboaro, MS.

[10] "Da segno di dovere essere superbissimo perchè non poteva sofferire di stare lungamente nè innanzi al padre nè avo con la berretta in mano, et chiama il padre fratello, et l' avo padre." Ibid.

[11] "Dice a tutti i propositi tante cose argute che 'l suo ministro ne raccolse un libretto." Ibid.—Another contemporary also notices the

scarcely fourteen years old seems as highly overcharged, whether for good or for evil, as portraits of princes usually are.*

Yet the state of the prince's health may be fairly mentioned in extenuation of his defects,—

precocious talents of the boy, as shown in his smart sayings: "Dexo de contar las gracias que tiene en dichos maravillosos que andan por boca de todos desparzidos, dexo de contar lo que haze para provar lo que dize." Cordero, Promptuario de Medallas, ap. Castro, Historia de los Protestantes Españoles, p. 328.

* [The most trustworthy description of the person and character of Don Carlos is probably that given in a letter of the baron von Dietrichstein, imperial minister at the court of Madrid, who had received a particular charge to inquire into the habits and moral and physical qualities of the prince. This report, written in June, 1564, when Carlos had but recently recovered from one of his attacks of fever, describes him as not disagreeable in features, though exceedingly pale. His figure was not only bad but deformed, one shoulder being higher and one leg longer than the other, with a sunken chest, and a slight hump on the back. His voice was thin, and he expressed himself with difficulty, though not unintelligibly. "He spoke to me several times, and, according to his habit, asked me many questions, which, however, contrary to what I had been led to expect, seemed to me very pertinent." In regard to other points the minister was unable to write from personal observation. He had received the usual accounts of the prince's violent and obstinate temper, but thought that many of his defects might be attributed to ill health, or might have been corrected by education, as he was said to have an excellent memory and much acuteness, the evidences of this latter quality being the sharp sayings which he was only too apt to let drop. He was naturally very gluttonous, but had been restricted to a regimen, being allowed only a single dish, consisting of a boiled capon seasoned with the juice of a leg of mutton. His only drink was water, as he had an aversion to wine. "He is extremely devout (*gottsforchtig*), and a great lover of justice and of truth; he cannot endure falsehood, or any one whom he has ever found guilty of it, while he makes much of men who are worthy, upright, virtuous, honorable, and distinguished. He exacts punctual service, and shows favor and affection to those from whom he receives it." As to a point on which the Emperor was very solicitous for information,—"an ad procreandam prolem aptus vel inaptus sit,"—no one could speak with confidence: "nemo est qui aliquid certi hac in re possit affirmare." Koch, Quellen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Maximilian II.—K.]

at least of his infirmity of temper. For his bilious temperament already began to show itself in the form of intermittent fever, with which he continued to be afflicted for the remainder of his life. Under this depressing disorder his spirits sank, his body wasted away, and his strength failed to such a degree that it was feared he might not reach the age of manhood.[12]

In the beginning of 1560, Isabella of France came to Castile, and on the second of February was united to Philip. By the preliminaries of the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, her hand had been assigned to Don Carlos; but Mary Tudor having died before the ratification of the treaty, the name of the father was substituted for that of the son, and the royal maiden was affianced to Philip.

The marriage-ceremony was performed, with great splendor, at Toledo. Carlos was present; and, as he gazed on the beautiful bride, it is not improbable that some feelings of resentment may have mingled with regret when he thought of the unceremonious manner in which her hand had been transferred from him to his father. But we should be slow to believe that Isabella could have felt anything like the tender sentiment that romantic historians have attributed to her, for a boy of fourteen, who had so few personal attractions to recommend him.

On the twenty-second of the same month, Carlos was formally recognized by the cortes of Castile

[12] "Le pauvre prince est si bas et exténué, il va d'heure a heure tant affoiblissant, que les plus sages de ceste court en ont bien petite espérance." L'Évêque de Limoges au Roi, 1er Mars, 1559, ap. Négociations relatives au Règne de François II., p. 291.

as heir to the crown. On this occasion the different members of the royal family were present, together with the great nobles and the representatives of the commons. The prince rode in the procession on a white horse superbly caparisoned, while his dress, resplendent with jewels, formed a sad contrast to the sallow and sickly countenance of its wearer.[13] He performed his part of the ceremony with dignity and feeling. When Joanna, his aunt, and his uncle, Don John of Austria, after taking the oath, would have knelt, according to custom, to kiss his hand, he would not allow it, but affectionately raised and embraced them. But when the duke of Alva inadvertently omitted the latter act of obeisance, the prince received him so coldly that the haughty nobleman, rebuked by his manner, perceived his error, and humbly acknowledged it.[14]

In the autumn of the following year, with the hope of mending his health by change of air, Carlos removed to Alcalá de Henares, famous for its university founded by the great Ximenes. He had for his companions two youths, both destined to a conspicuous part in the history of the times. One was Philip's illegitimate brother, Don John of Austria, the hero of Lepanto; the other was the prince's cousin, Alexander Farnese, son of Margaret of Parma, who was now in the course of

[13] "Delante de la Princesa venia don Carlos a su juramento con mal calor de quartanaria en un cavallo blanco con rico guarnimiento i gualdrapa de oro i plata bordado sobre tela de oro parda, como el vestido galan con muchos botones de perlas i diamantes." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. v. cap. 7.

[14] Ibid., ubi supra.

training which was one day to make him the greatest captain of his time. The three boys were nearly of the same age; but in their accomplishments and personal appearance the uncle and the cousin afforded as strong a contrast to their royal kinsman as in the brilliant fortunes that awaited them.[15]

Carlos had not been at Alcalá many months before he met with an accident which was attended with most disastrous consequences. One evening in April, 1562, as he was descending a flight of stairs, he made a misstep, and fell headlong down five or six stairs against a door at the bottom of the passage.[16] He was taken up senseless, and removed to his chamber, where his physicians were instantly summoned, and the necessary remedies applied.[17] At first it seemed only a simple contusion on the head, and the applications of the doctors had the desired effect. But soon the symp-

[15] Strada, in a parallel which he has drawn of the royal youths, gives the palm to Don John of Austria. His portrait of Carlos is as little flattering in regard to his person as to his character: "Carolus, præter colorem et capillum, ceterùm corpore mendosus; quippe humero elatior, et tibiâ alterâ longior erat; nec minus dehonestamentum ab indole feroci et contumaci." De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 609.

[16] According to Guibert, the French ambassador, Carlos was engaged in a love-adventure when he met with his fall,—having descended this dark stairway in search of the young daughter of the porter of the garden. See Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 119.

[17] "Este dia despues de haber comido queriendo su Alteza bajar por una escalera escura y de ruines pasos echó el pie derecho en vacio, y dió una vuelta sobre todo el cuerpo, y así cayó de cuatro ó cinco escalones. Dió con la cabeza un gran golpe en una puerta cerrada, y quedó la cabeza abajo y los pies arriba." Relacion de la Enfermedad del Príncipe por el Doctor Olivares, Documentos inéditos, tom. xv. p. 554.

toms became more alarming. Fever set in. He was attacked by erysipelas; his head swelled to an enormous size; he became totally blind; and this was followed by delirium. It now appeared that the skull was fractured. The royal physicians were called in; and after a stormy consultation, in which the doctors differed, as usual, as to the remedies to be applied, it was determined to trepan the patient. The operation was carefully performed; a part of the bone of the skull was removed; but relief was not obtained.*

Meanwhile, the greatest alarm spread through the country at the prospect of losing the heir-apparent. Processions were everywhere made to the churches, prayers were put up, pilgrimages were vowed, and the discipline was unsparingly administered by the fanatical multitude, who hoped by self-inflicted penance to avert the wrath of Heaven from the land. Yet all did not avail.

We have a report of the case from the pen of Dr. Olivares, the prince's own physician. Some of the remedies were of a kind that would look strange enough if reported by a medical journal of our own day. After all efforts of professional skill had failed, and the unguent of a Moorish doctor, famous among the people, had been rubbed on the body without success, it was resolved to make a direct appeal to Heaven. In the monastery of Jesus Maria lay the bones of a holy Franciscan, Fray Diego, who had died a hundred years

* [There were nine physicians and surgeons in attendance on the prince, among them the celebrated Vesalius, who seems, by a letter from the court, to have had an important share in the cure. See Gachard, Don Carlos et Philippe II., tom. i.—K.]

before, in the reign of Henry the Fourth, in the odor of sanctity. King Philip and his court went in solemn procession to the church; and in their presence the mouldering remains of the good father, still sweet to the nostrils, as we are told, were taken from their iron coffin and transported to the prince's apartment. They were there laid on his bed; and the cloth that wrapped the skull of the dead man was placed on the forehead of Carlos.[18] Fortunately, the delirious state of the patient prevented the shock that might otherwise have been given to his senses. That very night the friar appeared to Carlos in his sleep. He was muffled in his Franciscan robe, with a green girdle about his waist, and a cross of reeds in his hand; and he mildly bade him "be of good cheer, for that he would certainly recover." From this time, as the physician who reports the case admits, the patient began speedily to mend. The fever subsided, his head returned to its natural dimensions, his eyes were restored to sight. At the end of something less than two months from the date of the accident, Carlos, who had shown a marvellous docility throughout his illness,[19] was enabled to walk into the adjoining apartment and embrace his father, who during the critical period of his son's illness, had established his residence at

[18] Ferreras, Hist. de l'Espagne, tom. ix. p. 429.

[19] Dr. Olivares bears emphatic testimony to this virtue, little to have been expected in his patient: "Lo que á su salud cumplia hizo de la misma suerte, siendo tan obediente á los remedios que á todos espantaba que por fuertes y recios que fuesen nunca los reusó, ántes todo el tiempo que estuvo en su acuerdo él mismo los pedia, lo cual fué grande ayuda para la salud que Dios le dió." Documentos inéditos, tom. xv. p. 571.

Alcalá, showing the solicitude natural to a parent in such an extremity.*

The merit of the cure was of course referred to Fray Diego.[20] An account of the miracle, duly authenticated, was transmitted to Rome; and the holy man, on the application of Philip, received the honors of canonization from the pontiff. The claims of the new saint to the credit of achieving the cure were confidently asserted by the Castilian chroniclers of that and succeeding ages; nor have I met with any one hardy enough to contest them, unless it be Dr. Olivares himself, who, naturally jealous of his professional honor, intimated his conviction—this was before the canonization—that, with some allowance for the good wrought by Fray Diego's intercession and the prayers of

[20] Another rival appeared, to contest the credit of the cure with the bones of Fray Diego. This was Our Lady of Atocha, the patroness of Madrid, whose image, held in the greatest veneration by Philip the Second, was brought to the chamber of Carlos soon after the skeleton of the holy friar. As it was after the patient had decidedly begun to mend, there seems to be the less reason for the chroniclers of Our Lady of Atocha maintaining, as they sturdily do, her share in the cure. (Perada, La Madoña de Madrid (Valladolid, 1604), p. 151.) The veneration for the patroness of Madrid has continued to the present day. A late journal of that capital states that the queen, accompanied by her august consort and the princess of Asturias, went, on the twenty-fourth of March, 1854, in solemn procession to the church, to decorate the image with the collar of the Golden Fleece.

* [According to a letter of the Florentine minister, who had his information from an eye-witness, the spectacle of the father's grief was even more affecting than the condition of the son. When, however, it was thought that the latter had only a few hours to live, Philip yielded to the entreaties of his counsellors that he should leave Alcalá, and set out in the middle of the night, having first given directions to the duke of Alva and the count of Feria in regard to the manner of conducting the obsequies. See Gachard, Don Carlos et Philippe II., tom. i.—K.]

the righteous, the recovery of the prince was mainly to be referred to the skill of his physicians.[21]

But the recovery of Carlos does not seem to have been so complete as was at first thought. There is good reason to suppose that the blow on his head did some permanent injury to the brain.* At least this may be inferred from the absurd eccentricities of his subsequent conduct and the reckless manner in which he abandoned himself to the gratification of his passions. In 1565, on his recovery from one of those attacks of quartan fever which still beset him, Philip remarked, with a sigh, to the French minister, St. Sulpice, "that he hoped his repeated warnings might restrain the

[21] "Con todo eso tomando propriamente el nombre de milagro, á mi juicio no lo fué, porque el Príncipe se curó con los remedios naturales y ordinarios, con los cuales se suelen curar otros de la misma enfermedad estando tanto y mas peligrosos." Documentos inéditos, tom. xv. p. 570.

* [This is expressly stated by Cabrera; but M. Gachard considers the assertion completely disproved by the tenor of the will executed by Carlos in May, 1564, a document which he characterizes as full of sense and good feeling and breathing the noblest and most generous sentiments, while its interest is enhanced by its being "the sole monument which we have of the mind, thoughts, and character of Don Carlos." It is a very long instrument, prepared, under the prince's directions, by Herman Suarez, a legist of Toledo, with injunctions to keep it strictly secret. The most noticeable clauses are those in which the testator expresses his strong affection for his former tutor, Honorato Juan, his desire that Martin de Córdova may be suitably rewarded for his heroic defence of Mazarquivir, and his intention that his two slaves Diego and Juan, whom he has wished to have instructed in the art of sculpture, shall, if they conduct themselves well, be declared free; but if their characters shall prove to be such that liberty would not be an advantage to them, he bequeaths one to the bishop of Osma (Honorato Juan) and the other to the marquis of Távara, with an injunction for their good treatment.—K.]

prince, for the future, from making such fatal inroads on his health." [22] But the unfortunate young man profited as little by such warnings as by his own experience. Persons about the court at this period have left us many stories of his mad humors, which formed the current scandal at Madrid. Brantôme, who was there in 1564, says that Carlos would patrol the streets with a number of young nobles of the same lawless habits with himself, assaulting the passengers with drawn swords, kissing the women, and insulting even ladies of the highest rank with the most opprobrious epithets.[23]

It was the fashion for the young gallants of the court to wear very large boots. Carlos had his made even larger than usual, to accommodate a pair of small pistols. Philip, in order to prevent the mischievous practice, ordered his son's boots to be made of smaller dimensions. But when the bootmaker brought them to the palace, Carlos, in a rage, gave him a beating, and then, ordering the leather to be cut in pieces and stewed, he forced the unlucky mechanic to swallow this unsavory fricasse—as much as he could get down of it—on the spot.[24]

[22] Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 132.

[23] "Il aymoit fort à ribler le pavé, et faire à coups d'espée, fust de jour, fust de nuit, car il avoit avec luy dix ou douze enfans d'honneur des plus grandes maisons d'Espagne. . . . Quand il alloit par les ruës quelque belle dame, et fust elle des plus grandes du pays, il la prenoit et la baisoit par force devant tout le monde; il l'appelloit putain, bagasse, chienne, et force autres injures leur disoit-il." Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. i. p. 323.

[24] "Dió un bofeton a Don Pedro Manuel, i guisadas i picadas en menudas pieças hizo comer las votas al menestral." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 22.—De Foix, a French architect employed on the Escorial at this time, informed the historian De Thou of the

On one occasion he made a violent assault on his governor, Don Garcia de Toledo, for some slight cause of offence. On another, he would have thrown his chamberlain, Don Alonzo de Córdova, out of the window. These noblemen complained to Philip, and besought him to release them from a service where they were exposed to affronts which they could not resent. The king consented, transferring them to his own service, and appointed Ruy Gomez de Silva, prince of Eboli, his favorite minister, the governor of Carlos.[25]

But the prince was no respecter of persons. Cardinal Espinosa, president of the Council of Castile, and afterwards grand inquisitor, banished a player named Cisneros from the palace, where he was to have performed that night for the prince's diversion. It was probably by Philip's orders. But, however that may be, Carlos, meeting the cardinal, seized him roughly by the collar, and, laying his hand on his poniard, exclaimed,

prince's habit of wearing extremely large leggings, or boots, for the purpose mentioned in the text: "Nam et scloppetulos binos summa arte fabricatos caligis, quæ amplissimæ de more gentis in usu sunt, eum gestare solitum resciverat." (Historiæ sui Temporis, lib. 41.) I cite the original Latin, as the word *caligæ* has been wrongly rendered by the French translator into *culottes*.*

[25] Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 22.

* [De Castro (Hist. de los Protestantes Españoles) considers the story of Carlos having treated the bootmaker in the manner described as a calumny invented by his father's ministers. It may seem a more probable supposition that it was a popular exaggeration of some incident characteristic enough of an irritable and exacting but not actually frenzied nature. The extravagances of language related, with more or less truth, by Brantôme, might be similarly explained. "Whatever he has on his heart," writes the imperial minister, "he utters without reserve, indifferent as to whom it hits."—K.]

" You scurvy priest, do you dare to prevent Cisneros from playing before me? By the life of my father, I will kill you!" [26] The trembling prelate,* throwing himself on his knees, was too happy to escape with his life from the hands of the infuriated prince. Whether the latter had his way in the end, in regard to the comedian, is not stated. But the stuff of which a grand inquisitor is made is not apt to be of the yielding sort.

A more whimsical anecdote is told us by Nobili, the Tuscan ambassador then resident at the court. Carlos, having need of money, requested a merchant, named Grimaldo, to advance him the sum of fifteen hundred ducats. The money-lender readily consented, thanking the prince for the favor done him, and adding, in the usual grandiloquent vein of the Castilian, that " all he had was at his disposal." [27] Carlos took him at his word, and forthwith demanded a hundred thousand ducats. In vain poor Grimaldo, astounded by the request, protested that " it would ruin his credit; that what he had said was only words of compliment." Carlos replied, " he had no right to bandy compliments with princes; and, if he did not in four-and-

[26] " Curilla vos os atreveis a mi, no dexando venir a servirme Cisneros? por vida de mi padre que os tengo de matar." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 22.

[27] " Il qual Niccolo lo fece subito et co' parole di Complimento rende gratie à sua Altezza offerendoli sempre tutto quel che per lui si poteva." Lettera di Nobili, Ambasciatore dei Granduca di Toscagna al Re Philippo, 24 di Luglio, 1567, MS.

* [Espinosa was not at this time either a bishop or a cardinal. He received the hat and was appointed to the see of Siguenza in the spring of 1568, during the imprisonment of Don Carlos. Gachard, Don Carlos et Philippe II., tom. i.—K.]

twenty hours pay the money to the last *real*, he and his family would have cause to rue it." It was not till after much negotiation that Ruy Gomez succeeded in prevailing on the prince to be content with the more modest sum of sixty thousand ducats, which was accordingly furnished by the unfortunate merchant.[28] The money thus gained, according to Nobili, was squandered as suddenly as it was got.

There are, happily, some touches of light to relieve the shadows with which the portrait is charged. Tiepolo, who was ambassador from Venice at the court of Madrid in 1567, when Carlos was twenty-two years old, gives us some account of the prince. He admits his arrogant and fiery temper, but commends his love of truth, and, what we should hardly have expected, the earnestness with which he engaged in his devotions. He was exceedingly charitable, asking, "Who would give, if princes did not?"[29] He was splendid in his way of living, making the most liberal recompense not only to his own servants, but to the king's, who were greatly attached to him.[30] He was ambitious of taking part in the conduct of public affairs, and was sorely discontented when

[28] "Ci si messe di mezzo Ruigomes et molti altri nè si è mai possuto quietar' fin tanto che Niccolo no' li ha prestato sessantamila scudi co' sua polizza senza altro assegniamento." Lettera di Nobili, MS.

[29] "Mostra di esser molto religioso solicitando come fa le prediche et divini officii, anzi in questo si può dir che eccede l'honesto, et suol dire, Chi debbe far Elemosine, se non la danno i Prencipi?" Relatione di Tiepolo, MS.

[30] "E splendetissimo in tutte le cose et massime nel beneficiar chi lo serve: Il che fa così largamente che necessita ad amarlo anco i servitori del Padre." Ibid.

excluded from them—as seems to have been usually the case—by his father.[31]

It was certainly to the prince's credit that he was able to inspire those who approached him most nearly with strong feelings of personal attachment. Among these were his aunt Joanna, the regent, and the queen, Isabella, who, regarding him with an interest justified by the connection, was desirous of seeing him married to her own sister. His aunt Mary and her husband, the Emperor Maximilian, also held Carlos, whom they had known in early days, in the kindest remembrance, and wished to secure his hand for their eldest daughter. A still more honorable testimony is borne by the relations in which he stood to his preceptor, Honorato Juan, who, at the prince's solicitation, had been raised to the bishopric of Osma. Carlos would willingly have kept this good

[31] "E curioso nel intendere i negozii del stato, ne i quali s'intrometterebbe volontieri, et procura di saper quello che tratta il Padre, et che egli asconde gli fa grande offesa." Relatione di Tiepolo, MS.—Granvelle, in one of his letters, notices with approbation this trait in the character of Carlos: "Many are pleased with the prince, others not. I think him modest, and inclined to employ himself, which, for the heir of such large dominions, is in the highest degree necessary." Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 128.*

* [Some apparent inconsistencies in the character of Don Carlos are perhaps best established by the extracts from his account-books published in the Coleccion de Documentos inéditos para la Hist. de España, tom. xxvii. In these we find him paying for the maintenance and education of abandoned children and discharging the obligations of an imprisoned debtor, while on another occasion he gives an alms of one hundred reals to Damian Martín, "father of the girls beaten by order of his highness." Perhaps the worst story told of him is that of his having one day shut himself up in his stables and inflicted serious injuries on more than a score of horses. The strongest evidence for this seems to be an allusion to it in a letter of Hernan Suarez, afterwards cited.—K.]

man near his own person. But he was detained in his diocese; and the letters from time to time addressed to him by his former pupil, whatever may be thought of them as pieces of composition, do honor to the prince's heart. "My best friend in this life," he affectionately writes at the close of them, "I will do all that you desire."[32] Unfortunately, this good friend and counsellor died in 1566. By his will, he requested Carlos to select for himself any article among his effects that he preferred. He even gave him authority to change the terms of the instrument and make any other disposition of his property that he thought right![33] It was a singular proof of confidence in the testator, unless we are to receive it merely as a Spanish compliment,—somewhat perilous, as the case of Grimaldo proves, with a person who interpreted compliments as literally as Carlos.

From all this, there would seem to have been the germs of generous qualities in the prince's nature, which, under a happier culture, might have been turned to some account. But he was placed in that lofty station which exposed him to the influence of parasites, who flattered his pride, and corrupted his heart, by ministering to his pleasures. From the eminence which he occupied, even the smallest

[32] "Mi mayor amigo que tengo en esta vida, que harè lo que vos me pidieredes." Elogios de Honorato Juan, p. 66.—The last words, it is true, may be considered as little more than a Castilian form of epistolary courtesy.

[33] "Su Alteza añada, y quite todo lo que le pareciere de mi testamento, y este mi Codicilo, que aquello que su Alteza mandare lo doy, y quiero que sea tan valido como si estuviesse expressado en este mi Codicilo, o en el testamento." Ibid., p. 73.

errors and eccentricities became visible to the world and the objects of unsparing criticism. Somewhat resembling his father in person, he was different from him both in his good qualities and his defects, so that a complete barrier was raised between them. Neither party could comprehend the other; and the father was thus destitute of the means which he might else have had of exerting an influence over the son. The prince's dissipated way of life, his perpetual lapses from decorum, or, to speak more properly, his reckless defiance of decency, outraged his father, so punctilious in his own observance of the outward decencies of life. He may well have dwelt on such excesses of Carlos with pain; but it may be doubted if the prince's more honorable desire to mingle in public affairs was to the taste of Philip, who was too tenacious of power willingly to delegate it, beyond what was absolutely necessary, to his own ministers. The conduct of his son, unhappily, furnished him with a plausible ground for distrusting his capacity for business.

Thus distrusted, if not held in positive aversion, by his father; excluded from any share in the business of the state, as well as from a military life, which would seem to have been well suited to his disposition; surrounded by Philip's ministers, whom Carlos, with too much reason, regarded as spies on his actions,—the unhappy young man gave himself up to a reckless course of life, equally ruinous to his constitution and to his character; until the people, who had hailed with delight the prospect of a native-born prince, now

felt a reasonable apprehension as to his capacity for government.[34]

But, while thus an object of distrust at home, abroad more than one sovereign coveted an alliance with the heir of the Spanish monarchy. Catherine de Medicis would gladly have secured his hand for a younger sister of Isabella, in which project she was entirely favored by the queen. This was in 1565; but Philip, in his usual procrastinating spirit, only replied, "They must reflect upon it."[35] He looked with a more favorable eye on the proposals warmly pressed by the emperor and empress of Germany, who, as we have seen, still cherished a kindly remembrance of Carlos, and wished his union with their daughter Anne. That princess, who was a year younger than her cousin, claimed Spain as her native land, having been born there during the regency of Maximilan. But although the parties were of suitable age, and Philip acquiesced in the proposals for their marriage, his want of confidence in his son if we may credit the historians, still moved him to defer the celebration of it.[36] Anne did indeed live to mount the throne of Castile, but as the wife, not of Carlos, but of Philip, after the death of Isabella. Thus, by a singular fatality, the two princesses who had been destined for the son were each of them married to the father.*

[34] "Così come sono allegri i Spagnuoli d'haver per loro Sig^re un Rè naturale: così stanno molto in dubio qual debbe esser il suo governo." Relatione di Tiepolo, MS.

[35] Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 132.

[36] Herrera, Historia general, tom. i. p. 680.

* [Of the different matrimonial designs of which Don Carlos, as heir to the greatest monarchy of Europe, was the object, the most

The revolutionary movement in the Netherlands was at this time the great subject that engaged the

amusing was the suit vigorously prosecuted on her own behalf by his aunt, the princess Juana, who, having missed the throne of Portugal, aspired to that of Spain as the fittest compensation, and rejected with contempt offers from several of the Italian princes. The nearness of blood could be no obstacle in a family which, aided by papal dispensations, was accustomed to carry intermarriage to nearly the same extent as the Peruvian Incas; while her ten years' seniority to her nephew seemed, probably, to the princess herself an additional recommendation, as insuring a continuance of the care and solicitude she had bestowed upon his infancy, and which she may have thought him likely always to need. The Spanish nation took the same view, and the cortes of Castile petitioned Philip to effect the marriage. Carlos, however, held different sentiments, which he expressed with his usual bluntness, not only declaring in private his determination not to wed the princess, but presenting himself before the cortes and rating it for having dared to meddle in the matter, as well as for having requested his father not to take him to the Netherlands. A proposal to which he showed himself better inclined was started originally by the Guises, who, on the death of Francis II. of France, conceived the idea of forming what was thought a still more splendid connection for their ill-fated niece. Catherine de Medicis set herself diligently to countermining this project,—in every way inimical to her interests,—and succeeded by threats in extorting from the Cardinal of Lorraine a promise to desist from pursuing it. It was, however, revived after Mary's arrival in Scotland, her subjects being favorable to an alliance which offered the strongest counterpoise to the power of England,—a patriotic consideration that led the Reformers to stifle the motives which might have been expected to rouse their strenuous opposition. A like consideration might have led Philip to regard the match with favor if he had not—in contrast to his own father and to fathers in general—wished to postpone the marriage of his son until assured of the latter's fitness to render himself an agreeable husband. Such, at least, was the excuse he alleged for delaying an acceptance of the emperor's offer, which Carlos, on the other hand, was eager to accept. He had obtained a portrait of the princess Anne, and fancied himself deeply in love with her. Being asked on one occasion by the queen where his thoughts were, he answered, "Three hundred leagues from here." "Where, then?" she asked, smiling. "With my cousin," he replied. This ungallant answer, reported in a letter of the French minister, seems a sufficient refutation of his pretended love for his stepmother, though her kindness and compassion for him, and the reverence with which it was repaid, are well established. See Gachard, Don Carlos et Philippe II., passim.—K.]

attention of the Spaniards; and Carlos is reported to have taken a lively interest in it. According to Antonio Perez, the Flemings then at the court made positive overtures to the prince to head the revolt.[37] Strada speaks of Bergen and Montigny, then at Madrid, as the channel of communication through which Carlos engaged to settle the affairs of that distracted country.[38] That a person of his ardent temper should have felt sympathy with a people thus bravely struggling for its liberties, is not improbable; nor would one with whom "to think and to speak was the same thing"[39] be at all unlikely to express himself on the subject with much more freedom than discretion. And it may have been in allusion to this that his almoner, Suarez, in a letter without date, implores the prince "to abandon his dangerous designs, the illusion of the Evil One, which cannot fail to bring mischief to himself and disquiet to the monarchy."[40] The letter concludes with a homily, in

[37] Raumer (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 153), who cites a manuscript letter of Antonio Perez to the councillor Du Vaire, extant in the Royal Library of Paris. A passage in a letter to Carlos from his almoner, Doctor Hernan Suarez de Toledo, has been interpreted as alluding to his intercourse with the deputies from Flanders: "Tambien he llorado, no haber parecido bien que V. A. *hablase a los procuradores*, como dicen que lo hizo, no se lo que fue, pero si que cumple mucho hacer los hombres sus negocios propios, con consejo ageno, por que los muy diestros nunca fian del suyo." The letter, which is without date, is to be found in the archiepiscopal library of Toledo.

[38] De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 376.

[39] "È principe," writes the nuncio, "che quello, che ha in cuore, ha in bocca." Lettera del Nunzio al Cardinale Alessandrini, Giugno, 1566, MS.

[40] "Que eran de grandisimo engaño, y error peligrosisimo, inventado y buscado todo por el demonio, para dar travajo a V. A. y

which the good doctor impresses on the prince the necessity of filial obedience, by numerous examples, from sacred and profane story, of the sad end of those who had impiously rejected the counsels of their parents.[41]

But, although it is true that this hypothesis would explain much that is enigmatical in the subsequent history of Carlos, I must confess I have met with no confirmation of it in the correspondence of those who had the direction of affairs in the Low Countries, nor in the charges alleged against Montigny himself,—where an attempt to suborn the heir-apparent, one might suppose, would have been paraded as the most heinous offence. Still, that Carlos regarded himself as the proper person to be intrusted with the mission to the Netherlands is evident from his treatment of Alva when that nobleman was appointed to the command of the army.

On that occasion, as the duke came to pay his respects to him previous to his departure, the prince fiercely said, "You are not to go to Flanders; I will go there myself." Alva endeavored to pacify him, saying that it was too dangerous a mission for the heir to the throne; that he was going to quiet the troubles of the country and prepare it for the coming of the king, when the prince

pensar darle á todos, y para desasogear, y aun inquietar la grandeza de la monarquia." Carta de Harnan Suarez al Príncipe, MS.

[41] The intimate relations of Doctor Suarez with Carlos exposed him to suspicions in regard to his loyalty or his orthodoxy,—we are not told which,—that might have cost him his life, had not this letter, found among the prince's papers after his death, proved a sufficient voucher for the doctor's innocence. Soto, Anotaciones á la Historia de Talabera, MS.

could accompany his father, if his presence could be spared in Castile. But this explanation served only to irritate Carlos the more; and, drawing his dagger, he turned suddenly on the duke, exclaiming, "You shall not go; if you do, I will kill you." A struggle ensued,—an awkward one for Alva, as to have injured the heir-apparent might have been construed into treason. Fortunately, being much the stronger of the two, he grappled with Carlos, and held him tight, while the latter exhausted his strength in ineffectual struggles to escape. But no sooner was the prince released than he turned again, with the fury of a madman, on the duke, who again closed with him, when the noise of the fray brought in one of the chamberlains from an adjoining room; and Carlos, extricating himself from the iron grasp of his adversary, withdrew to his own apartment.[42]

Such an outrage on the person of his minister was regarded by Philip as an indignity to himself. It widened the breach, already too wide, between father and son; and so great was their estrangement that, when living in the same palace, they seem to have had no communication with each other.[43] Much of Philip's time, however, at this period, was passed at the Escorial, where he was watching over the progress of the magnificent pile which was to commemorate the victory of St. Quentin. But, while in his retreat, the ministers

[42] Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 13.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 376.—Vanderhammen, Don Juan de Austria (Madrid, 1627), fol. 37.

[43] Letter of Fourquevaulx, January 19th, 1568, ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 85.

placed about his son furnished the king with faithful reports of his proceedings.

Such was the deplorable state of things, when Carlos came to the fatal determination to escape from the annoyances of his present position by flying to some foreign land,—to what country is not certainly known; some say to the Netherlands, others to Germany. The latter, on the whole, seems the most probable; as in the court of Vienna he would meet with his promised bride, and friends who would be sure to welcome him.*

As he was destitute of funds for such a journey, he proposed to raise them through a confidential agent, one of his own household, by obtaining loans from different cities. Such a reckless mode of proceeding, which seemed at once to proclaim his purpose, intimated too plainly the heedlessness of his character and his utter ignorance of affairs.

But, while these negotiations were in progress, a

* [His intention, as stated in the letters from the court, was to go to Italy; according to some reports, with the ulterior purpose of proceeding to Flanders, while others, with less probability, represent him as designing to raise an insurrection in the Italian provinces subject to Spain. There was also a rumor of his intending to fly to Portugal, which, according to Fourquevaulx, was the opinion of Philip, founded, perhaps, chiefly on the fact that Carlos was the heir presumptive to the throne of that kingdom. As one strong motive of his projected flight seems to have been his disgust at Alva's appointment and Philip's pretended change of purpose as to his own visit to the Netherlands, after having expressly promised to take his son with him, it may be inferred that the latter country was the prince's real destination, as also that he hoped to receive aid from the emperor,—who had been appealed to by the Flemish nobles, and who was eager to receive Carlos as his son-in-law. Such a project was far less wild than it may now appear. Striking examples in the preceding century, that especially of Louis XI. while dauphin,—to which M. Gachard has pointed as a somewhat analogous case,—were still fresh in the recollection of the world.—K.]

circumstance occurred exhibiting the conduct of Carlos in such a light that it may claim the shelter of insanity. The story is told by one of the prince's household, an *ayuda de cámara*, or gentleman of the chamber, who was present at the scene, which he describes with much simplicity.

For some days his master, he tells us, had no rest, frequently repeating that "he desired to kill a man with whom he had a quarrel!"[44] The same thing he said—without, however, intimating who the man was—to his uncle, Don John of Austria, in whom he seems to have placed unbounded confidence. This was near Christmas in 1567. It was customary on the twenty-eighth of December, the day of the Innocents, for the members of the royal family to appear together and take the sacrament in public. Carlos, in order to prepare for this, on the preceding evening went to the church of St. Jerome, to confess and receive absolution. But the confessor, when he heard the strange avowal of his murderous appetite, refused to grant absolution. Carlos applied to another ecclesiastic, but with as little success. In vain he endeavored to argue the case. They recommended him to send for more learned divines and take their opinion. He did so forthwith; and no less than fourteen monks from the convent of Our Lady of Atocha, and two from another quarter, were brought together to settle this strange point of casuistry. Greatly shocked, they were unanimous in their

[44] "Avia muchos dias, que el Príncipe mi Señor andaba inquieto sin poder sosegar, y decia, que avia de matar á un hombre con quien estaba mal, y de este dió parte al Señor Don Juan, pero sin declararle quien fuese." De la Prision y Muerte del Príncipe Don Carlos, MS.

opinion that, under the circumstances, absolution could not be granted. Carlos next inquired whether he might not be allowed to receive an unconsecrated wafer, which would obviate the scandal that his omitting to take the sacrament would infallibly occasion in the court. The reverend body were thrown into fresh consternation by this proposal. The prior of Atocha, who was among the number, wishing to draw from Carlos the name of his enemy, told him that this intelligence might possibly have some influence on the judgment of the divines. The prince replied that "his father was the person, and that he wished to have his life!"[45] The prior calmly inquired if any one was to aid him in the designs against his father. But Carlos only repeated his former declaration; and two hours after midnight the conclave broke up, in unspeakable dismay. A messenger was despatched to the Escorial, where the king then was, to acquaint him with the whole affair.[46]

Such is the report of the *ayuda de cámara*, who says he was in attendance on the prince that night. The authority is better for some parts of the story than for others. There is nothing very improbable in the supposition that Carlos—whose thoughts, as we have seen, lay very near the surface—should have talked in the wild way reported of him, to his attendants. But that he should have repeated to others what had been drawn from him so cun-

[45] "Pero el Prior le engaño, con persuadirle dixese cual fuese el hombre, por que seria possible poder dispensar conforme à la satisfaccion, que S. A. pudiese tomar, y entonces dixo, que era el Rey su Padre con quien estaba mál, y le havia de matar." De la Prision y Muerte del Príncipe Don Carlos, MS.

[46] Ibid.

ningly by the prior, or that this appalling secret should have been whispered within earshot of the attendants, is difficult to believe. It matters little, however, since, whichever way we take the story, it savors so much of downright madness in the prince as in a manner to relieve him from moral responsibility.

By the middle of January, 1568, the prince's agent had returned, bringing with him a hundred and fifty thousand ducats. It was not more than a fourth of the amount he had demanded. But it answered for the present, and the remainder he proposed to have sent after him in bills of exchange.[47] Having completed his preparations, he communicated his intentions to his uncle, Don John, and besought him to accompany him in his flight. But the latter, after fruitlessly expostulating with his kinsman on the folly of his proceeding, left Madrid for the Escorial, where he doubtless reported the affair to the king, his brother.

On the seventeenth, Carlos sent an order to Don Ramon de Tassis, the director-general of the posts, to have eight horses in readiness for him that evening. Tassis, suspecting all was not right, returned an answer that the horses were out. On the prince repeating his orders in a more peremptory manner, the postmaster sent all the horses out, and proceeded himself in all haste to the Escorial.[48]

[47] "Ya avia llegado de Sevilla Garci Alvarez Osorio con ciento y cincuenta mil escudos de los seiscientos mil que le avia embiado a buscar y proveer: y que assi se apercibiesse para partir en la noche siguiente pues la resta le remitirian en polizas en saliendo de la Corte." Vanderhammen, Don Juan de Austria, fol. 40.

[48] Vanderhammen, Don Juan de Austria, fol. 40.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 22.

The king was not long in taking his measures. Some days previous, "this very religious prince," says the papal nuncio, "according to his wont, had caused prayers to be put up, in the different monasteries, for the guidance of Heaven in an affair of great moment."[49] Such prayers might have served as a warning to Carlos. But it was too late for warnings. Philip now proceeded, without loss of time, to Madrid, where those who beheld him in the audience-chamber on the morning of the eighteenth saw no sign of the coming storm in the serenity of his countenance.[50] That morning he attended mass in public, with the members of the royal family. After the services, Don John visited Carlos in his apartment, when the prince, shutting the doors, demanded of his uncle the subject of his conversation with the king at the Escorial.* Don John evaded the questions as well as he could, till Carlos, heated by his suspicions, drew his sword and attacked his uncle, who, retreating, with his back to the door, called loudly on

[49] "Sono molti giorni che stando il Ré fuori comandò segretamente che si facesse fare orationi in alcuni monasterii, acciò nostro Signore Dio indrizzasse bene et felicemente un grand negotio, che si li offeriva. Questo è costume di questo Prencipe veramente molto religioso, quando li occorre qualche cosa da esseguire, che sia importante." Lettera del Nunzio, 24 di Gennaio, 1568, MS.

[50] "On the next day, when I was present at the audience, he appeared with as good a countenance as usual, although he was already determined in the same night to lay hands on his son, and no longer to put up with or conceal his follies and more than youthful extravagances." Letter of Fourquevaulx, February 5th, 1568, ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 138.

* [Brantôme says, that while Don Carlos was angry with Don Juan at this time he called him "bâtard et fils de putain." The son of the emperor replied, "So I am, but I have a better father than you." Discours XLI., i. p. 324.—M.]

the prince to desist, and threw himself into a posture of defence. The noise made by the skirmish fortunately drew the notice of the attendants, who, rushing in, enabled Don John to retreat, and Carlos withdrew in sullen silence to his chamber.[51]

The prince, it seems, had for some time felt himself insecure in his father's palace. He slept with as many precautions as a highwayman, with his sword and dagger by his side, and a loaded musket within reach, ready at any moment for action.[52] For further security, he had caused an ingenious artisan to construct a bolt in such a way that by means of pulleys he could fasten or unfasten the door of his chamber while in bed. With such precautions, it would be a perilous thing to invade the slumbers of a desperate man like Carlos. But Philip was aware of the difficulties; and he ordered the mechanic to derange the machinery so that it should not work; and thus the door was left without the usual means for securing it.[53] The rest is told by the *ayuda de cámara* above mentioned, who was on duty that night, and supped in the palace.

It was about eleven o'clock, on the evening of the eighteenth, when he observed the king coming down-stairs, wearing armor over his clothes, and

[51] Letter of Fourquevaulx, ubi supra.—Relacion del Ayuda de Camara, MS.

[52] Relacion del Ayuda de Camara, MS.—Lettera di Nobili, Gennaio 21, 1568, MS.—De Thou, taking his account from the architect Louis de Foix, has provided Carlos with still more formidable means of defence: "Ce Prince inquiet ne dormoit point, qu'il n'eût sous son chevet deux épées nues et deux pistolets chargez. Il avoit encore dans sa garderobe deux arquebuses avec de la poudre et des balles, toujours prêtes à tirer." Hist. universelle, tom. v. p. 439.

[53] Ibid, ubi supra.

his head protected by a helmet. He was accompanied by the duke of Feria, captain of the guard, with four or five other lords, and twelve privates of the guard. The king ordered the valet to shut the door and allow no one to enter. The nobles and the guard then passed into the prince's chamber; and the duke of Feria, stealing softly to the head of the bed, secured a sword and dagger which lay there, as well as a musket loaded with two balls. Carlos, roused by the noise, started up, and demanded who was there. The duke, having got possession of the weapons, replied, " It is the council of state." Carlos, on hearing this, leaped from his bed, and, uttering loud cries and menaces, endeavored to seize his arms. At this moment, Philip, who had prudently deferred his entrance till the weapons were mastered, came forward, and bade his son return to bed and remain quiet. The prince exclaimed, " What does your majesty want of me? " " You will soon learn," said his father, and at the same time ordered the windows and doors to be strongly secured, and the keys of the latter to be delivered to him. All the furniture of the room, with which Carlos could commit any violence, even the andirons, were removed.[54] The king, then turning to Feria, told him that " he committed the prince to his especial charge, and that he must guard him well." Addressing next the other nobles, he directed them " to serve the prince with all proper respect, but to execute none

[54] " Cosi S. M^ta^ fece levare tutte l'armi, et tutti i ferri sino à gli alari di quella camera, et conficcare le finestre." Lettera di Nobili, Gennaio 21, 1568, MS.

of his orders without first reporting them to himself; finally, to guard him faithfully, under penalty of being held as traitors."

At these words Carlos exclaimed, "Your majesty had better kill me than keep me a prisoner. It will be a great scandal to the kingdom. If you do not kill me, I will make away with myself." "You will do no such thing," said the king, "for that would be the act of a madman." "Your majesty," replied Carlos, "treats me so ill that you force me to this extremity. I am not mad, but you drive me to despair!" [55] Other words passed between the monarch and his son, whose voice was so broken by sobs as to be scarcely audible.[56]

Having completed his arrangements, Philip, after securing a coffer which contained the prince's papers, withdrew from the apartment. That night, the duke of Feria, the count of Lerma, and Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, eldest son of Ruy Gomez, remained in the prince's chamber. Two lords, out of six named for the purpose, performed the same duty in rotation each succeeding night. From respect to the prince, none of them were allowed to wear their swords in his presence. His meat was cut up before it was brought into his chamber, as he was allowed no knife at his meals. The prince's attendants were all dismissed, and

[55] "Aqui alço el principe grandes bozes diziendo, mateme Vra Md y no me prenda porque es grande escandalo para el reyno y sino yo me mataré, al qual respondio el rey que no lo hiciere que era cosa de loco, y el principe respondio no lo hare como loco sino como desesperado pues Vra Md me trata tan mal." Relacion del Ayuda de Cámara, MS.

[56] "Erasi di già tornato nel letto il Principe usando molte parole fuor di proposito: le quali non furno asverttite come dette quasi singhiozzando." Lettera di Nobili, Gennaio 25, 1568, MS.

most of them afterwards provided for in the service of the king. A guard of twelve halberdiers was stationed in the passages leading to the tower in which the apartment of Carlos was situated. Thus all communication from without was cut off; and, as he was unable to look from his strongly barricaded windows, the unhappy prisoner from that time remained as dead to the world as if he had been buried in the deepest dungeon of Simancas.

The following day, the king called the members of his different councils together, and informed them of the arrest of his son, declaring that nothing but his duty to God, and the welfare of the monarchy, could have moved him to such an act. The tears, according to one present, filled his eyes as he made this avowal.[57]

He then summoned his council of state, and commenced a process against the prisoner. His affliction did not prevent him from being present all the while and listening to the testimony, which, when reduced to writing, formed a heap of paper half a foot in thickness. Such is the account given of this extraordinary proceeding by the *ayuda de cámara*.[58]

[57] "Y á cada uno de por sí con lagrimas (segun me ha certificado quien lo vió) les daba cuenta de la prission del Príncipe su hijo." Relacion del Ayuda de Cámara, MS.

[58] "Martes veinte de Enero de 1568, llamó S. M. á su cámara á los de el Consejo de Estado, y estubieron en ella desde la una de la tarde asta las nueve de la noche, no se sabe que se tratase, el Rey hace informacion, Secretario de ella és Oyos, hallase el Rey pressente al examen de los testigos, ay escripto casi un feme en alto." Ibid. —I have two copies of this interesting MS., one from Madrid, the other from the library of Sir Thomas Phillips. Llorente's translation of the entire document, in his Histoire de l'Inquisition (tom. iii. pp. 151–158), cannot claim the merit of scrupulous accuracy.

CHAPTER VII

DEATH OF DON CARLOS

Causes of his Imprisonment—His Rigorous Confinement—His Excesses—His Death—Llorente's Account—Various Accounts—Suspicious Circumstances—Quarrel in the Palace—Obsequies of Carlos

1568

THE arrest of Don Carlos caused a great sensation throughout the country, much increased by the mysterious circumstances which had attended it. The wildest rumors were afloat as to the cause. Some said the prince had meditated a design against his father's life; others, that he had conspired against that of Ruy Gomez. Some said that he was plotting rebellion, and had taken part with the Flemings; others suspected him of heresy. Many took still a different view of the matter,—censuring the father rather than the son. "*His dagger followed close upon his smile*," says the historian of Philip: "hence some called him wise, others severe." [1] Carlos, they said, never a favorite, might have been rash in his thoughts and words; but he had done no act which should have led a father to deal with his son so harshly. But princes were too apt to be jealous of their suc-

[1] "Unos le llamaban prudente, otros severo, porque su risa i cuchillo eran confines." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. viii. cap. 22.—These remarkable words seem to escape from Cabrera, as if he were noticing only an ordinary trait of character.

cessors. They distrusted the bold and generous spirit of their offspring, whom it would be wiser to win over by admitting them to some reasonable share in the government. "But others there were," concludes the wise chronicler of the times, "who, more prudent than their neighbors, laid their finger on their lips, and were silent." [2]

For some days Philip would allow no post to leave Madrid, that he might be the first to send intelligence of this event to foreign courts.[3] On the twenty-fourth he despatched circular letters to the great ecclesiastics, the grandees, and the municipalities of the chief cities in the kingdom. They were vague in their import, stating the fact of the arrest, and assigning much the same general grounds with those he had stated to the councils. On the same day he sent despatches to the principal courts of Europe.* These, though singularly vague and mysterious in their language, were more pregnant with suggestions, at least, than the letters to his subjects. The most curious, on the whole, and the one that gives the best insight into his motives, is the letter he addressed to his aunt, the queen of Portugal. She was sister to the emperor his father,—an estimable lady, whom Philip had always held in great respect.

"Although," he writes, "it has long been ob-

[2] "Mirabanse los mas cuerdos sellando la boca con el dedo i el silencio." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 22.

[3] "In questo mezo è prohibito di mandar corriero nessuno, volendo essere Sua Maestà il primo á dar alli Prencipi quest' aviso." Lettera del Nunzio, Gennaio 21, 1568, MS.

* [These letters are dated the 20th and the 21st, and those to the grandees, the municipalities, etc., the 22d.—K.]

vious that it was necessary to take some order in regard to the prince, yet the feelings of a father have led me to resort to all other means before proceeding to extremity. But affairs have at length come to such a pass that, to fulfil the duty which, as a Christian prince, I owe both to God and to my realm, I have been compelled to place my son in strict confinement. Thus have I been willing to sacrifice to God my own flesh and blood, preferring his service and the welfare of my people to all human considerations.[4] I will only add that this determination has not been brought about by any misconduct on the part of my son, or by any want of respect to me; nor is this treatment of him intended by way of chastisement,—for that, however just the grounds of it, would have its time and its limit.[5] Neither have I resorted to it as an expedient for reforming his disorderly life. The proceeding rests altogether on another foundation; and the *remedy I propose is not one either of time or experience*, but is of the greatest moment, as I have already remarked, to satisfy my obligations to God and my people." [6]

[4] "En fin yo he querido hacer en esta parte sacrificio à Dios de mi propia carne y sangre y preferir su servicio y el bien y beneficio público á las otras consideraciones humanas." Traslado de la Carta que su magestad escrivió á la Reyna de Portugal sobre la prision del Principe su hijo, 20 de Enero, 1568, MS.

[5] "Solo me ha parecido ahora advertir que el fundamento de esta mi determinacion no depende de culpa, ni inovediencia, ni desacato, ni es enderezada á castigo, que aunque para este havia la muy suficiente materia, pudiera tener su tiempo y su termino." Ibid.

[6] "Ni tampoco lo he tomado por medio, teniendo esperanza que por este camino se reformarán sus excesos y desordenes. Tiene este negocio otro principio y razon, cuyo remedio no consiste en tiempo, ni medios; y que es de mayor importancia y consideracion para

In the same obscure strain Philip addressed Zuñiga, his ambassador at the papal court,—saying that, "although the disobedience which Carlos had shown through life was sufficient to justify any demonstration of severity, yet it was not this, but the stern pressure of necessity, that could alone have driven him to deal in this way with his first-born, his only son." [7]

satisfacer yo á la dicha obligacion que tengo á Dios nuestro señor y á los dichos mis Reynos." Traslado de la Carta de su magestad á la Reyna de Portugal, MS.

[7] "Pues aunque es verdad que en el discurso de su vida y trato haya habido ocasion de alguna desobediencia ó desacato que pudieran justificar qualquiera demostracion, esto no me obligaría á llegar á tan estrecho punto. La necesidad y conveniencia han producido las causas que me han movido muy urgentes y precisas con mi hijo primogenito y solo." Carta del Rey á su Embrajador en Roma, 22 de Enero, 1568, MS.*

* [Of the other letters written by Philip at this time, one to the duke of Alva, dated the 23d, begins with the remark, "You are so well acquainted with the character and disposition of the prince my son, and with his mode of acting, that it will not be necessary to enlarge much upon the matter to you in order to justify what has been done, or that you may understand the end which is proposed." He then speaks of things having gone so far since Alva's departure, and of particular and important acts carried to such an extent ("intervenido actos tan particulares y de tanta consideracion, y llegádose á tales terminos"), as to make necessary the course pursued. After the usual account of the motives, as not proceeding from any personal outrage to himself, he charges Alva not to communicate to any one the ground of the business, or the end to which it is directed. In a later letter, dated April 6th, Philip declines to give a more explicit declaration, as the duke had recommended, of the causes which had determined his action. For Alva's own satisfaction, he says, this cannot be necessary, since his knowledge of the prince's nature, condition, and conduct would enable him, with the intimations already given, to infer the ground and the object, and to understand that as the one could not be removed by any temporary expedient, so the other was intended to be a true and complete remedy, and to obviate the mischiefs that would otherwise ensue both during the king's lifetime and after his decease. As to the opinion of the world, it was not deemed advisable to publish any

This ambiguous language—implying that the imprisonment of Carlos was not occasioned by his own misconduct, and yet that the interests of religion and the safety of the state both demanded his perpetual imprisonment—may be thought to intimate that the cause referred to could be no other than insanity. This was plainly stated by the prince of Eboli, in a communication which, by the king's order, he made to the French minister, Fourquevaulx. The king, Gomez said, had for three years past perceived that the prince's head was the weakest part of him, and that he was at no time in complete possession of his understanding. He had been silent on the matter, trusting that time would bring some amendment. But it had only made things worse; and he saw with sorrow that to commit the sceptre to his son's hands would be to bring inevitable misery on his subjects and ruin on the state. With unspeakable anguish, he had therefore resolved, after long deliberation, to place his son under constraint.[8]

This at least is intelligible, and very different from Philip's own despatches,—where it strikes us as strange, if insanity were the true ground of the

[8] Letter of Fourquevaulx, ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 136.

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further statement at present with the view of rectifying that, but, as it was probable that the heretics and rebels would seek to strengthen their cause by alleging that Carlos was suspected of a defection from the faith, or of treasonable designs, Alva was, in this case, to endeavor to stifle any such rumors, both as injurious to the prince's honor and as utterly at variance with the truth, and devoid of all foundation. Gachard, Don Carlos et Philippe II., tom. ii., Appendice *B*.—K.]

arrest, that it should be covered up under such vague and equivocal language, with the declaration, moreover, usually made in his letters, that "at some future time he would explain the matter more fully to the parties." One might have thought that the simple plea of insanity would have been directly given, as furnishing the best apology for the son, and at the same time vindicating the father for imposing a wholesome restraint upon his person.* But, in point of fact, the excessive rigor of the confinement, as we shall have occasion to see, savored much more of the punishment dealt out to some high offender than of the treatment of an unfortunate lunatic. Neither is it probable that a criminal process would have been instituted against one who by his very infirmity was absolved from all moral responsibility.

There are two documents, either of which, should it ever be brought to light, would probably unfold the true reasons of the arrest of Carlos. The Spanish ambassador, Zuñiga, informed Philip that the pope, dissatisfied with the account which he had given of the transaction, desired a further explanation of it from his majesty.[9] This, from such a source, was nearly equivalent to a command. For Philip had a peculiar reverence for Pius the

[9] "Querria el Papa saber por carta de V. M. la verdad." Carta de Zuñiga al Rey, 28 de Abril, 1568, MS.

* [It can hardly be doubted that Philip wished this plea to be inferred from the language of his letters, while there were obvious reasons why he should not publicly state it in direct terms. His own expressions, on occasions mentioned in subsequent notes, were very similar to those of Ruy Gomez in the conversation referred to in the text.—K.]

Fifth, the pope of the Inquisition, who was a pontiff after his own heart. The king is said never to have passed by the portrait of his holiness, which hung on the walls of the palace, without taking off his hat.[10] He at once wrote a letter to the pope containing a full account of the transaction. It was written in cipher,* with the recommendation that it should be submitted to Granvelle, then in Rome, if his holiness could not interpret it.[11] This letter is doubtless in the Vatican.†

[10] Lorea, Vida de Pio Quinto (Valladolid, 1713), p. 131.

[11] In the Archives of Simancas is a department known as the *Patronato*, or family papers, consisting of very curious documents, of so private a nature as to render them particularly difficult of access. In this department is deposited the correspondence of Zuñiga, which, with other documents in the same collection, has furnished me with some pertinent extracts.

* [This is a mistake: the pope had little acquaintance with Spanish, and Zuñiga, in handing him the letter, requested him, if he wished to have it translated into Italian, to employ Granvelle for this purpose, which was done.—K.]

† [This letter, which, as M. Gachard remarks, was expected, from the terms in which it is mentioned by Philip himself, writing to Zuñiga, to "raise all the veils," has come to light, through the discovery that a Latin translation of it had been published (or rather buried) in the twenty-third volume of the *Annales ecclesiastici* of Laderchi (Rome, 1733, fol.), that historian having found the original among the papers of Cardinal Alessandrino, secretary of state to Pius V. It bears the date of May 13th. After asserting his readiness to repose unlimited confidence in his holiness, as in a true parent, Philip proceeds to give what he calls a clearer account of the proceeding, from which there would be no difficulty in understanding its cause and object. He had often meditated, he says, on the burden which God had imposed upon him in committing to him the rule and administration of so many states and kingdoms, that he might maintain them in order and peace, in conformity to the orthodox faith and obedience to the holy see, and transmit them, after his brief course, in security and peace to his successor, on whom their further preservation would depend; but in punishment for his sins it had pleased God that his son should have so many and so great defects, partly of intellect, partly of natural character, as to

The other document is the process. The king, immediately after the arrest of his son, appointed a special commission to try him. It consisted of Cardinal Espinosa, the prince of Eboli, and a royal councillor, Bribiesca de Muñatones, who was appointed to prepare the indictment. The writings containing the memorable process instituted by Philip's ancestor, John the Second of Aragon, against his amiable and unfortunate son, who also bore the name of Carlos, had been obtained from the archives of Barcelona. They were translated from the Catalan into Castilian, and served for the ominous model for the present proceedings, which took the form of a trial for high treason. In conducting this singular prosecution, it does not appear that any counsel or evidence appeared on behalf of the prisoner, although a formidable amount of testimony, it would seem, was collected on the other side. But, in truth, we know little of the proceedings. There is no proof that any but the monarch, and the secret tribunal that presided over the trial,—if so it can be called,—ever saw the

be destitute of all fitness for the post; and as all other remedies and expedients had proved vain, it had been found necessary at last, in view of the grave inconveniences to be apprehended if the succession were to devolve upon him, to incarcerate him, and then to deliberate further, in accordance with circumstances, how the king's end could be attained without his incurring blame. This luminous exposition is followed by an earnest entreaty that the pope will not divulge any of the particulars contained in it, and with the reiterated declaration that the prince had not been guilty of rebellion or heresy. In presenting this letter Zuñiga was ordered, if the pope should make further inquiries, to excuse himself from entering into details. Pius, however, who was a person of few words when not forced into discussion, contented himself with some expressions of condolence. Gachard, Don Carlos et Philippe II., tom. ii.—K.]

papers. In 1592, according to the historian Cabrera, they were deposited, by Philip's orders, in a green box, strongly secured, in the Archives of Simancas,[12]—where, as we have no later information, they may still remain, to reward the labors of some future antiquary.[13]

[12] "Estan en el archivo de Simancas, donde en el año mil i quinientos i noventa i dos los metio don Cristoval de Mora de su Camara en un cofrecillo verde en que se conservan." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 22.

[13] It is currently reported, as I am informed, among the scholars of Madrid, that in 1828 Ferdinand the Seventh caused the papers containing the original process of Carlos, with some other documents, to be taken from Simancas; but whither they were removed is not known. Nor since that monarch's death have any tidings been heard of them.*

* [A rumor was long current in Spain that a certain box at Simancas contained the so-called "process" of Don Carlos. This box was opened, during the French occupation, by order of General Kellermann, and was found to contain the process of Don Rodrigo de Calderon, marquis of Siete Iglesias, who was condemned and executed in 1621. M. Gachard deduces the conclusion that all the reports relating to the deposit or removal of the papers were equally unfounded. He doubts, indeed, whether such papers ever existed, contending that no regular process, with the object of disinheriting the heir-apparent, could have been instituted by a mere commission, and that at the most the business intrusted to Ruy Gomez and his associates was to collect facts and take evidence on which to base a formal indictment, or *acte d'accusation*. But the positive statements of so well-informed and careful a writer as Cabrera are not to be lightly set aside. The foreign ministers at the court all speak, in their earlier letters, of the intention to institute a process; and the papal nuncio, in a despatch of March 2d, after saying that the affair of the prince was no longer talked of at the court, and that it was not known that any charges against him had yet been put in writing, adds that it was nevertheless probable that this was being done secretly. That a sentence obtained in this manner would have been, as M. Gachard remarks, contrary to "the most elementary notions of justice as well as to the fundamental laws of Castile," affords no proof that the method would have seemed unsatisfactory to Philip, who was a stickler for forms, but not for legality, much less justice, in the execution of his own purposes. So far as proba-

In default of these documents, we must resort to conjecture for the solution of this difficult problem; and there are several circumstances which may assist us in arriving at a conclusion. Among the foreign ministers at that time at the court of Madrid, none took more pains to come at the truth of this affair—as his letters abundantly prove—than the papal nuncio, Castaneo, archbishop of Rossano. He was a shrewd, sagacious prelate, whose position and credit at the court gave him the best opportunities for information. By Philip's command, Cardinal Espinosa gave the nuncio the usual explanation of the grounds on which Carlos had been arrested. "It is a strange story," said the nuncio, "that which we everywhere hear, of the prince's plot against his father's life." "It

bilities are concerned, the only question is whether, in the present instance, such a method would have subserved his end, which was, as the whole array of evidence shows and as M. Gachard irresistibly argues, to deprive Carlos of the succession. But to attain this end by strictly legal means would have been all but impossible. The assent of the cortes of Castile, which had sworn allegiance to Carlos, would have been requisite, and perhaps the sanction of a papal dispensation relieving them from their oaths. The latter might have been easily obtained by a monarch whose power was the great bulwark of the Church; but the cortes, much as it was in the habit of yielding to encroachments on popular rights, had a stronger regard for the right of succession to the throne, which involved the sacredness of all other rights and the unity of the nation. The fact that Carlos was an only son, however little it might weigh with Philip, would itself have been an insuperable objection with the great body of his subjects. Merely to have mooted the matter in public would have let loose a storm of discussion and opposition which the king had from the first taken every precaution to avoid. Yet it was necessary that the acts of so "prudent" a monarch should be provided in case of need with the pretence of a justification; and it can hardly be doubted that this mockery of a prosecution was carried through with the same punctilious observances as had characterized the case of Montigny.—K.]

would be of little moment," replied the cardinal, "if the danger to the king were all; as it would be easy to protect his person. But the present case is worse,—if worse can be; and the king, who has seen the bad course which his son has taken for these two years past, has vainly tried to remedy it; till, finding himself unable to exercise any control over the hair-brained young man, he has been forced to this expedient." [14]

Now, in the judgment of a grand inquisitor, it would probably be thought that heresy, or any leaning to heresy, was a crime of even a deeper dye than parricide. The cardinal's discourse made this impression on the nuncio, who straightway began to cast about for proofs of apostasy in Don Carlos. The Tuscan minister also notices in his letters the suspicions that Carlos was not a good Catholic.[15] A confirmation of this view of the matter may be gathered from the remarks of Pius the Fifth on Philip's letter in cipher, above noticed. "His holiness," writes the Spanish ambassador, "greatly lauds the course taken by your majesty; for he feels that the preservation of Christianity depends on your living many years,

[14] "Rispose che questo saria el manco, perchè se non fosse stato altro pericolo che della persona del Rè si saria guardata, et rimediato altramente, ma che ci era peggio, si peggio può essere, al che sua Maestà ha cercato per ogni via di rimediare due anni continui, perchè vedeva pigliarli la mala via, ma non ha mai potuto fermare ne regolare questo cervello, fin che è bisognato arrivare a questo." Lettera del Nunzio, Gennaio 24, 1568, MS.

[15] "Non lascerò però di dirle, ch' io ho ritratto et di luogo ragionevole, che si sospetta del Prencipe di poco Cattolico: et quello, che lo fà credere, è che fin' adesso non li han fatto dir messa." Lettera di Nobili, Gennaio 25, 1568, MS.

and on your having a successor who will tread in your footsteps." [16]

But, though all this seems to intimate pretty clearly that the religious defection of Carlos was a predominant motive for his imprisonment, it is not easy to believe that a person of his wayward and volatile mind could have formed any settled opinions in matters of faith, or that his position would have allowed the Reformers such access to his person as to have greatly exposed him to the influence of their doctrines. Yet it is quite possible that he may have taken an interest in those political movements abroad which in the end were directed against the Church. I allude to the troubles in the Low Countries, which he is said to have looked upon with no unfriendly eye. It is true, there is no proof of this, so far as I am aware, in the correspondence of the Flemish leaders. Nor is there any reason to suppose that Carlos entered directly into a correspondence with them himself, or indeed committed himself by any overt act in support of the cause.[17] But this was not necessary for his condemnation: it would have been quite enough that he had felt a sympathy for the distresses of the people. From the residence of

[16] "El Papa alaba mucho la determinacion de V. M. porque entiende que la conservacion de la Christiandad depende de que Dios de á V. M. muchos añas de vida y que despues tenga tal sucesor que sepa seguir sus pisadas." Carta de Zuñiga, Junio 25, 1568, MS.

[17] Leti has been more fortunate in discovering a letter from Don Carlos to Count Egmont, found among the papers of that nobleman at the time of his arrest. (Vita di Filippo II., tom. i. p. 543.) The historian is too discreet to vouch for the authenticity of the document, which indeed would require a better voucher than Leti to obtain our confidence.

Egmont, Bergen, and Montigny at the court, he had obvious means of communication with those nobles, who may naturally have sought to interest him in behalf of their countrymen. The sympathy readily kindled in the ardent bosom of the young prince would be as readily expressed. That he did feel such a sympathy may perhaps be inferred by his strange conduct to Alva on the eve of his departure for the Netherlands.* But the people of that country were regarded at Madrid as in actual rebellion against the crown. The reformed doctrines which they avowed gave to the movement the character of a religious revolution. For a Spaniard to countenance it in any way was at once to prove himself false both to his sovereign and his faith. In such a light, we may be quite sure, it would be viewed both by Philip and his minister, the grand inquisitor. Nor would it be thought any palliation of the crime that the offender was heir to the monarchy.[18]

As to the design on his father's life, Philip,

[18] De Castro labors hard to prove that Don Carlos was a Protestant. If he fails to establish the fact, he must be allowed to have shown that the prince's conduct was such as to suggest great doubts of his orthodoxy, among those who approached the nearest to him. See Historia de los Protestantes Españoles, p. 319, et seq.

* [His conduct to Alva is sufficiently explained by the fact that the appointment of the latter had dashed his own hopes of going to the Netherlands as the representative of the crown,—a position to which he probably considered himself entitled when it became certain that Philip was not going in person. A pretence was made of giving him a share in the domestic administration, by way of consoling him for the disappointment; but it was soon abandoned, on the plea—very possibly a well-founded one—that he threw all the affairs intrusted to him into disorder. Gachard, Don Carlos et Philippe II., tom. ii.—K.]

both in his foreign despatches and in the communications made by his order to the resident ministers at Madrid, wholly acquitted Carlos of so horrible a charge.[19] If it had any foundation in truth, one might suppose that Philip, instead of denying, would have paraded it, as furnishing an obvious apology for subjecting him to so rigorous a confinement. It is certain, if Carlos had really entertained so monstrous a design, he might easily have found an opportunity to execute it. That Philip would have been silent in respect to his son's sympathy with the Netherlands may well be believed. The great champion of Catholicism would naturally shrink from publishing to the world that the taint of heresy infected his own blood.*

But, whatever may have been the motives which determined the conduct of Philip, one cannot but suspect that a deep-rooted aversion to his son lay at the bottom of them. The dissimilarity of their

[19] "Sua Maestà ha dato ordine, che nelle lettere, che si scrivono a tutti li Prencipi et Regni, si dica, che la voce ch' è uscita ch l' Prencipe havesse cercato di offendere la Real persona sua propria è falsa, et questo medesimo fa dire a bocca da Ruy Gomez all' Imbasciatori." Lettera del Nunzio, Gennaio 27, 1568, MS.

* [The silence or denial of Philip in regard to either of the causes mentioned would be of little weight, if there were motives for concealment; and such motives obviously existed in regard to the accusation of a design against his life on the part of his son, as well as in regard to the imputation of heresy. The two charges were, in fact, closely connected. Both, if put forward, would, as he himself remarks in letters already cited, have been accepted by the "heretics and rebels" as tending to strengthen their party. But in his disclosures to Alva and to the pope, which they were to bury in their own bosoms, Philip may be believed to have written the truth, so far at least as negations were concerned; and in those letters, as has been seen, he contradicts both allegations, not only as dishonorable and injurious, but as utterly groundless.—K.]

natures placed the two parties, from the first, in false relations to each other. The heedless excesses of youth were regarded with a pitiless eye by the parent, who, in his own indulgence, at least did not throw aside the veil of decorum. The fiery temper of Carlos, irritated by a long-continued system of distrust, exclusion, and *espionage*, at length broke out into such senseless extravagances as belong to the debatable ground of insanity. And this ground afforded, as already intimated, a plausible footing to the father for proceeding to extremities against the son.*

* [M. Gachard, referring to those letters of Philip which he considers as "lifting a corner of the veil," expresses the opinion that an attentive consideration of the hints and denials they contain will lead to the conviction that "the projected flight of Don Carlos was the real and immediate cause of his arrest." The immediate cause, or pretext, it may possibly have been; though there is not the remotest apparent allusion to it in any of Philip's letters, and the theory would seem to be directly contradicted by the explicit statement, in more than one of them, that the important step had not been determined by the faults of the prince, or adopted as a means either of punishment or of reformation, since in that case recourse would have been had to a different mode of procedure. (See, in particular, letter to Alva of April 6th.) But there is reason to believe that the measure had been decided upon long before Carlos conceived his project of escape. Philip himself speaks of it repeatedly as the result of long deliberation. The French minister, Fourquevaulx, had written to Charles IX. on August 21st, 1567, that Philip was so much displeased with the conduct of his son that, if it were not for the talk it would occasion, it was thought he would shut him up in a tower. In a note announcing the arrest to Catherine de Medicis, the ambassador recalls the fact that he had made the same statement to her, and had also mentioned a remark made to him by Ruy Gomez some days before the queen's last accouchement, to the effect that an important resolution was depending on the sex of the child to which she was about to give birth. The Venetian minister asserts, in a letter of February 11th, that the king had been thinking of the matter for three years; and this is confirmed by the account given to Fourquevaulx by Ruy Gomez by the kings's order (*ante*, p. 313). It is far more likely,

Whatever were the offences of Carlos, those who had the best opportunities for observation

therefore, that the projected flight was itself a result of the prince's knowledge of this design, than the cause of its being carried out. But the real cause is apparent enough from the king's letters, the mysterious tone of which seems to have been adopted only to hide the fact that there were no particular acts which he could allege as a sufficient justification of the purpose he so clearly intimated never to release his son or allow him to succeed to the throne. It is true that in his first letter to Alva he spoke of "particular and important acts;" but when the duke asked for details he was told that he might easily infer the causes from his general knowledge of the prince. On the other hand, Philip states repeatedly and explicitly that his act and purpose were grounded on defects of intellect and character in the prince which it had been found impossible to correct, and which rendered him unfit to rule. The only question, therefore, that remains to be solved is, whether Philip's opinion of his son's incapacity was a correct and impartial one. The notion that Carlos was insane or imbecile is utterly untenable. Persons who knew him well have recorded their opinion that his extravagancies and eccentricities were the results of youthful folly and a bad education, and that he was endowed with high qualities both of intellect and of heart. His confessor, Fray Diego de Chaves, in a conversation with the imperial minister during the imprisonment of Carlos, spoke of the defects of his character as attributable to an obstinacy which had never been corrected by proper discipline, but added that he had many great virtues, and might be expected, if the present correction were followed by amendment, to become a good and virtuous prince. Brantôme expresses the belief that if he had lived to get rid of his youthful wildness he would have turned out a very great prince, a soldier and a statesman. The Italian letter-writers, including the papal nuncio, state that both the grandees and the people had the highest hopes of him and looked forward to his accession as destined to inaugurate a new system of government, under which the great nobles would recover their ancient influence and the nation its liberties. Whether these two results were compatible may be doubted; but the existence of such anticipations and the facts on which they were grounded furnish probably the best key to Philip's views and course of action. The good and bad qualities of Don Carlos were alike perilous to the continuance of that policy of repression on which Philip considered the security of the throne and of the monarchy as depending. To his ministers, the members of that *consulta* which formed his only advisers, the danger must have seemed still more personal. On the whole, the popular verdict that Carlos owed his fate to

soon became satisfied that it was intended never to allow him to regain his liberty or to ascend the throne of his ancestors.[20] On the second of March, a code of regulations was prepared by Philip relative to the treatment of the prince, which may give some idea of the rigor of his confinement. He was given in especial charge to Ruy Gomez, who was placed at the head of the establishment; and it was from him that every person employed about Carlos was to receive his commission. Six other nobles were appointed both to guard the prince and render him service. Two of the number were to remain in his apartment every night,—the one watching while the other slept; reminding us of an ingenious punishment among the Chinese, where a criminal is obliged to be everywhere followed by an attendant, whose business it is to keep an unceasing watch upon the offender, that, wherever he turns, he may still find the same eye riveted upon him! *

[20] "Si tien per fermo che privaranno il Prencipe della successione, et non lo liberaranno mai." Lettera del Nunzio, Febraio 14, 1568, MS.

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the fears and jealousy of the king and his ministers is the one that accords best with all the evidence which has yet been brought to light.—K.]

* [Prescott has omitted to mention that on the 25th of January the prince had been removed from his own chamber, which was in an entresol, to a small room on the same floor, situated in a tower, which had but one entrance and one window, the latter so barred as to admit light only through the upper part. An opening was made in the partition-wall, to admit of his hearing mass when celebrated in an adjoining apartment, but a wooden barrier prevented his exit by this passage. It was then that the regulations were adopted which are mentioned in the text; though they were not reduced to writing until the date there assigned to them. When

During the day it was the duty of these nobles to remain with Carlos and lighten by their conversation the gloom of his captivity. But they were not to talk on matters relating to the government, above all to the prince's imprisonment, on which topic, if he addressed them, they were to remain obdurately silent. They were to bring no messages to him, and bear none from him to the world without; and they were to maintain inviolable secrecy in regard to all that passed within the walls of the palace, unless when otherwise permitted by the king. Carlos was provided with a breviary and some other books of devotion; and no works except those of a devotional character were to be allowed him.[21] This last regulation seems to intimate the existence of certain heretical tendencies in Carlos, which it was necessary to counteract by books of an opposite character,—unless it might be considered as an ominous preparation for his approaching end. Besides the six nobles, no one was allowed to enter the apartment but the prince's physician, his *barbero*, or gentleman of the chamber, and his valet. The last was taken from the

[21] "Para rezarse le diesen las Oras, Breviario i Rosario que pidiese, i libros solamente de buena dotrina i devocion, si quisiese leer y oir." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. *22*.

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these dispositions and the change of his attendants were announced to him by Ruy Gomez, Carlos asked if Don Rodrigo de Mendoza, who had been in his service only a short time, but to whom he was strongly attached, and whose character is said to have justified his preference, was also to leave him. Being answered in the affirmative, he took the young nobleman in his arms, and, embracing him closely, with tears in his eyes, assured him of his affection and of his desire that he might one day be in a condition to give proofs of it. Gachard, Don Carlos et Philippe II., tom. ii.—K.]

monteros, or body-guard of the king.[22] There were seven others of this faithful corps who were attached to the establishment, and whose duty it was to bring the dishes for his table to an outer hall, whence they were taken by the *montero* in waiting to the prince's chamber. A guard of twelve halberdiers was also stationed in the passages leading to the apartment, to intercept all communication from without. Every person employed in the service, from the highest noble to the meanest official, made solemn oath, before the prince of Eboli, to conform to the regulations. On this nobleman rested the whole responsibility of enforcing obedience to the rules, and of providing for the security of Carlos. The better to effect this, he was commanded to remove to the palace, where apartments were assigned to him and the princess his wife, adjoining those of his prisoner. The arrangement may have been commended by other considerations to Philip, whose intimacy with the princess I shall have occasion to notice hereafter.[23]

The regulations, severe as they were, were exe-

[22] The *montero* was one of the body-guard of the king for the night. The right of filling this corps was an ancient privilege accorded to the inhabitants of a certain district named Espinosa de los Monteros. Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition, tom. iii. p. 163.

[23] The regulations are given *in extenso* by Cabrera (Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 22); and the rigor with which they were enforced is attested by the concurrent reports of the foreign ministers at the court. In one respect, however, they seem to have been relaxed, if, as Nobili states, the prince was allowed to recreate himself with the perusal of Spanish law-books, which he may have consulted with reference to his own case: "Hà domandato, che li siano letti li statuti, et le leggi di Spagna: ne' quali spende molto studio. Scrivè assai di sua mano, et subito scritto lo straccia." Lettera di Nobili, Giugno 8, 1568, MS.

cuted to the letter. Philip's aunt, the queen of Portugal, wrote in earnest terms to the king, kindly offering herself to remain with her grandson in his confinement and take charge of him like a mother in his affliction.[24] "But they were very willing," writes the French minister, "to spare her the trouble."[25] The emperor and empress wrote to express the hope that the confinement of Carlos would work an amendment in his conduct, and that he would soon be liberated. Several letters passed between the courts, until Philip closed the correspondence by declaring that his son's marriage with the princess Anne could never take place, and that he would never be liberated.[26]

Philip's queen, Isabella, and his sister Joanna, who seem to have been deeply afflicted by the course taken with the prince, made ineffectual attempts to be allowed to visit him in his confinement; and when Don John of Austria came to the palace dressed in a mourning suit, to testify his grief on the occasion, Philip coldly rebuked his brother, and ordered him to change his mourning for his ordinary dress.[27]

Several of the great towns were prepared to send their delegates to condole with the monarch

[24] "Per questa causa dunque il Rè et Regina vechia di quel regno hanno mandato qui un ambasciatore a far offitio col Rè cattolico per il Prencipe, dolersi del caso, offerirsi di venire la Regina propria a governarlo como madre." Lettera del Nunzio, Marzo 2, 1568, MS.

[25] Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. ii. p. 141.

[26] Ibid., pp. 146, 148.

[27] "Reyna y Princesa lloran: Don Juan vá cada noche á Palacio, y una fué muy llano, como de luto, y el Rey le riñió, y mandó no andubiesse de aquel modo, sino como solia de antes." Relacion del Ayuda de Camara, MS.

under his affliction. But Philip gave them to understand that he had only acted for the good of the nation, and that their condolence on the occasion would be superfluous.[28] When the deputies of Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia were on their way to court with instructions to inquire into the cause of the prince's imprisonment and to urge his speedy liberation, they received, on the way, so decided an intimation of the royal displeasure that they thought it prudent to turn back, without venturing to enter the capital.[29]

In short, it soon came to be understood that the affair of Don Carlos was a subject not to be talked about. By degrees it seemed to pass out of men's minds, like a thing of ordinary occurrence. "There is as little said now on the subject of the prince," writes the French ambassador, Fourquevaulx, "as if he had been dead these ten years." [30]

[28] "Sua Maestà ha fatto intendere a tutte le città del Reyno, che non mandino huomini o imbasciator nessuno, ne per dolersi, ne per cerimonia, ne per altro; et pare che habbia a caro, che nessuno glie ne parli, et così ogn' huomo tace." Lettera del Nunzio, Febraio 14, 1568, MS.

[29] Letter of Fourquevaulx, April 13, 1568, ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. ii. p. 143.—A letter of condolence from the municipality of Murcia was conceived in such a loyal and politic vein as was altogether unexceptionable. "We cannot reflect," it says, "without emotion, on our good fortune in having a sovereign so just, and so devoted to the weal of his subjects, as to sacrifice to this every other consideration, even the tender attachment which he has for his own offspring." This, which might seem irony to some, was received by the king, as it was doubtless intended, in perfect good faith. His endorsement, in his own handwriting, on the cover, shows the style in which he liked to be approached by his loving subjects: "This letter is written with prudence and discretion." A translation of the letter, dated February 16th, 1568, is in Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition, tom. iii. p. 161.

[30] Letter of Fourquevaulx, ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

His name, indeed, still kept its place among those of the royal family, in the prayers said in the churches. But the king prohibited the clergy from alluding to Carlos in their discourses. Nor did any one venture, says the same authority, to criticise the conduct of the king. "So complete is the ascendency which Philip's wisdom has given him over his subjects, that, willing or unwilling, all promptly obey him; and, if they do not love him, they at least appear to do so." [31]

Among the articles removed from the prince's chamber was a coffer, as the reader may remember, containing his private papers. Among these were a number of letters intended for distribution after his departure from the country. One was addressed to his father, in which Carlos avowed that the cause of his flight was the harsh treatment he had experienced from the king.[32] Other letters, addressed to different nobles and to some of the great towns, made a similar statement; and, after reminding them of the oath they had taken to him as successor to the crown, he promised to grant them various immunities when the sceptre should come into his hands.[33] With these papers was also found one of most singular import. It contained a list of all those persons whom he deemed friendly or inimical to himself. At the head of the former

[31] Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, ubi supra.

[32] "Quella per il Rè conteneva specificatamente molti agravii, che in molti anni pretendi, che li siano statti fatti da Sua Maestà, et diceva ch' egli se n' andava fuori delli suoi Regni per no poter sopportare tanti agravii, che li faceva." Lettera del Nunzio, Marzo 2, 1568, MS.

[33] Ibid.

class stood the name of his step-mother, Isabella, and of his uncle, Don John of Austria,—both of them noticed in terms of the warmest affection. On the catalogue of his enemies, " to be pursued to the death," were the names of the king his father, the prince and princess of Eboli, Cardinal Espinosa, the duke of Alva, and others.[34] Such is the strange account of the contents of the coffer given to his court by the papal nuncio. These papers, we are told, were submitted to the judges who conducted the process, and formed, doubtless, an important part of the testimony against the prince. It may have been from one of the parties concerned that the nuncio gathered his information. Yet no member of that tribunal would have ventured to disclose its secrets without authority from Philip, who may possibly have consented to the publication of facts that would serve to vindicate his course. If these facts are faithfully reported, they must be allowed to furnish some evidence of a disordered mind in Carlos.

The king, meanwhile, was scarcely less a prisoner than his son; for from the time of the prince's arrest he had never left the palace, even to visit his favorite residences of Aranjuez and the Prado, nor had he passed a single day in the occupation, in which he took such delight, of watching the rising glories of the Escorial. He seemed to be constantly haunted by the apprehension of some

[34] " Vi è ancora una lista, dove scriveva di sua mano gli amici, et li nemici suoi, li quali diceva di havere a perseguitare sempre fino alla morte, tra li quali il primo era scritto il Rè suo padre, di poi Rui Gomez et la moglie, il Presidente, il Duca d'Alba, et certi altri." Lettera del Nunzio, Marzo 2, 1568, MS.

outbreak among the people, or at least among the partisans of Carlos, to effect his escape; and when he heard any unusual noise in the palace, says his historian, he would go to the window to see if the tumult were not occasioned by an attempt to release the prisoner.[35] There was little cause for apprehension in regard to a people so well disciplined to obedience as the Castilians under Philip the Second. But it is an ominous circumstance for a prisoner that he should become the occasion of such apprehension.

Philip, however, was not induced by his fears to mitigate in any degree the rigor of his son's confinement, which produced the effect to have been expected on one of his fiery, ungovernable temper. At first he was thrown into a state bordering on frenzy, and, it is said, more than once tried to make away with himself. As he found that thus to beat against the bars of his prison-house was only to add to his distresses, he resigned himself in sullen silence to his fate,—the sullenness of despair. In his indifference to all around him, he ceased to take an interest in his own spiritual concerns. Far from using the religious books in his possession, he would attend to no act of devotion, refusing even to confess, or to admit his confessor into his presence.[36] These signs of fatal indifference, if

[35] "No salio el Rey de Madrid, ni aun a Aranjuez, ni a San Lorenço a ver su fabrica, tan atento al negocio del Principe estaba, i sospechoso a las murmuraciones de sus pueblos fieles i reverentes, que ruidos estraordinarios en su Palacio le hazian mirar, si eran tumultos para sacar a su Alteza de su camara." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. viii. cap. 5.

[36] "Onde fù chiamato il confessore et il medico, ma egli seguitando nella sua disperatione non volse ascoltare nè l'unno nè l'altro."

not of positive defection from the Faith, gave great alarm to Philip, who would not willingly see the soul thus perish with the body.[37] In this emergency he employed Suarez, the prince's almoner, who once had some influence over his master, to address him a letter of expostulation. The letter has been preserved, and is too remarkable to be passed by in silence.

Suarez begins with reminding Carlos that his rash conduct had left him without partisans or friends. The effect of his present course, instead of mending his condition, could only serve to make it worse. "What will the world say," continues the ecclesiastic, "when it shall learn that you now refuse to confess,—when, too, it shall discover other dreadful things of which you have been guilty, some of which are of such a nature that, did they concern any other than your highness, *the Holy Office would be led to inquire whether the author of them were in truth a Christian?*[38] It is in the bitterness and anguish of my heart that I must declare to your highness that you are not

Lettera del Nunzio, MS.—My copy of this letter, perhaps through the inadvertence of the transcriber, is without date.

[37] "Ne volendo in alcun modo curare nè il corpo nè l' anima, la qual cosa faceva stare il Rè et gli altri con molto dispiacere, vedendoli massima di continuo crescere il male, et mancar la virtù." Ibid.

[38] "Vea V. A. que harán y dirán todos quando se entienda que no se confiesa, y se vayan descubriendo otras cosas terribles, que le son tanto, que llegan á que en Santo Oficio tuviera mucha entrada en otro para saber si era cristiano ó no." Carta de Hernan Suarez de Toledo al Príncipe, Marzo 18, 1568, MS.*

* [The apparent significance of this passage is much weakened by the fact that the circumstances under which the letter was written make it extremely doubtful whether it was not intended to serve the purpose of the prince's enemies and pretended judges.—K.]

only in danger of forfeiting your worldly estate, but, what is worse, your own soul." And he concludes by imploring Carlos, as the only remedy, to return to his obedience to God, and to the king, who is His representative on earth.

But the admonitions of the honest almoner had as little effect on the unhappy youth as the prayers of his attendants. The mental excitement under which he labored, combined with the want of air and exercise, produced its natural effect on his health. Every day he became more and more emaciated; while the fever which had so long preyed on his constitution now burned in his veins with greater fury than ever. To allay the intolerable heat, he resorted to such desperate expedients as seemed to intimate, says the Papal nuncio, that if debarred from laying violent hands on himself he would accomplish the same end in a slower way, but not less sure. He deluged the floor with water, not a little to the inconvenience of the companions of his prison, and walked about for hours, half naked, with bare feet, on the cold pavement.[39] He caused a warming-pan with ice and snow to be introduced several times in a night into his bed, and let it remain there for hours together.[40] As if this were not enough, he would gulp down such draughts of snow-water as distance any achieve-

[39] "Spogliarsi nudo, et solo con una robba di taffetà su le carni star quasi di continuo ad una finestra, dove tirava vento, caminare con li piedi discalzi per la camara que tuttavia faceva stare adacquata tanto che sempre ci era l' acqua per tutto." Lettera del Nunzio, MS.

[40] "Farsi raffredare ogni notte due o tre volti il letto con uno scaldaletto pieno di neve, et tenerlo le notte intiere nel letto." Ibid.

ment on record in the annals of hydropathy. He pursued the same mad course in respect to what he ate. He would abstain from food an incredible number of days,[41] and then, indulging in proportion to his former abstinence, would devour a pasty of four partridges, with all the paste, at a sitting, washing it down with three gallons or more of iced water![42]

[41] Three days, according to one authority. (Lettera di Nobili di 30 di Luglio, 1568, MS.) Another swells the number to nine days (Carta de Gomez Manrique, MS.); and a third—one of Philip's cabinet ministers—has the assurance to prolong the prince's fast to eleven days, in which he allows him, however, an unlimited quantity of cold water: "Ansi se determinó de no comer y en esta determinacion passaron onze dias sin que bastasen persuasiones ni otras diligencias á que tomase cosa bevida ni que fuese para salud sino aqua fria." Carta de Francisco de Erasso, MS.

[42] "Doppo essere stato tre giorni senza mangiare molto fantastico et bizzaro mangiò un pasticcio fredolo di quatri perdici con tutta la pasta: et il medesimo giorno bevve trecento once d'aqqua fredda." Lettera di Nobili, Luglio 30, 1568, MS.—Yet Carlos might have found warrant for his proceedings, in regard to the use of snow and iced water, in the prescriptions of more than one doctor of his time. De Castro—who displays much ingenuity, and a careful study of authorities, in his discussion of this portion of Philip's history—quotes the writings of two of these worthies, one of whom tells us that the use of snow had increased to such an extent that not only was it recommended to patients in their drink, but also to cool their sheets; and he forthwith prescribes a warming-pan, to be used in the same way as it was by Carlos. Historia de los Protestantes Españoles, p. 370.*

* [In the paragraph to which the above note is appended, the author has mixed up details which belong to different periods, and which it is essential to keep distinct. The long abstinence from food, evincing an actual intention to suicide,—proceeding, as M. Gachard remarks, from a natural despair when the unhappy victim could no longer feel any doubt as to the fate reserved for him,—occurred in February. The king, when informed of it, coolly remarked that his son would eat when he was hungry. The prediction proved correct, and, instead of being injured by his long fast, the health of Carlos seemed to be improved by it. His mood was also changed: he confessed and received the eucharist,—a state of things which led to hopes that his liberation would shortly take place. Philip, however,

No constitution could long withstand such violent assaults as these. The constitution of Carlos gradually sank under them. His stomach, debilitated by long inaction, refused to perform the extraordinary tasks that were imposed on it. He was attacked by incessant vomiting; dysentery set

in a letter to his sister, the empress, wrote that it was a mistake to infer from the prince's having been allowed to receive the communion that there was no defect in his understanding: in such cases there were moments when the intellect was more sane than at others, and, moreover, one's mind might be sufficiently sound for the right performance of private and personal acts and yet be altogether defective in matters pertaining to government and public affairs. The incident had, therefore, he said, made no change in his intention. At what time Carlos had recourse to the hygiene of ice and snow (for there is no pretext that these were employed with a direct intention of harming himself) is somewhat uncertain. The practice is mentioned, in what may be called the official reports, as the direct cause of his illness and death. M. Gachard says it would be easy not only to add to the evidence De Castro has adduced of the common use of these remedies, but to prove that Carlos had been in the habit of employing them long before his confinement. But he very properly refuses to allow any weight to a relation of facts coming from so suspicious a source; and, even if its correctness were established, it would, as he justly argues, leave the responsibility on the king himself. It was, in fact, an outrage to common sense to charge any such excesses, or their results, on a prisoner who was under incessant surveillance day and night, and who was not permitted to cut his own food. "Who," asks M. Gachard, "procured for him the iced water which he used so immoderately, and the ice which he placed in his bed? Did not Ruy Gomez, *l'âme damnée du roi*, if I may be pardoned the expression, preside over all the details of the regimen to which the grandson of Charles the Fifth was subjected?" The weakness of the apology put forth in a circular to the foreign ministers—pretending that the consequences were not anticipated, and that if restrained from these acts the prince would have committed others "still *more* fatal" (!) —needs no remark. With regard to the last and most important of the excesses attributed to Carlos, his devouring a pasty of four partridges,—not, as Prescott seems to intimate, on several occasions, but on one only, and this immediately before his final illness,—a further mention of the circumstances will be made in a subsequent note.—K.]

in; and his strength rapidly failed. The physician, Olivares, who alone saw the patient, consulted with his brethren in the apartments of Ruy Gomez.[43] Their remedies failed to restore the exhausted energies of nature; and it was soon evident that the days of Carlos were numbered.

To no one could such an announcement have given less concern than to Carlos; for he had impatiently looked to death as to his release. From this hour he seemed to discard all earthly troubles from his mind, as he fixed his thoughts steadfastly on the future. At his own request, his confessor, Chavres, and Suarez, his almoner, were summoned, and assisted him with their spiritual consolations. The closing scenes are recorded by the pen of the nuncio:

"Suddenly a wonderful change seemed to be wrought by divine grace in the heart of the prince. Instead of vain and empty talk, his language became that of a sensible man. He sent for his confessor, devoutly confessed, and, as his illness was such that he could not receive the host, he humbly adored it; showing throughout great contrition, and, though not refusing the proffered remedies, manifesting such contempt for the things of this world, and such a longing for heaven, that one would have said God had reserved for this hour the sum of all his grace."[44]

[43] "Visitabale el Doctor Olivares Protomedico i salia a consultar con sus conpañeros en presencia de Rui Gomez de Silva la curacion, curso i accidentes de la enfermedad." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 22.

[44] "Mostrando molta contritione, et se bene si lassava curare il corpo per non causarsi egli stesso la morte, mostrava però tanto

He seemed to feel an assurance that he was to survive till the vigil of St. James, the patron saint of his country. When told that this would be four days later, he said, "So long will my misery endure." [45] He would willingly have seen his father once more before his death. But his confessor, it is said, dissuaded the monarch,* on the ground that Carlos was now in so happy a frame of mind that it were better not to disturb it by drawing off his attention to worldly objects. Philip, however, took the occasion, when Carlos lay asleep or insensible, to enter the chamber; and, stealing softly behind the prince of Eboli and the grand prior, Antonio de Toledo, he stretched out his hand towards the bed, and, making the sign of the cross, gave the parting benediction to his dying son.[46]

Nor was Carlos allowed the society of his amiable step-mother, the queen, nor of his aunt Joanna, to sweeten by their kind attentions the bitterness of death.[47] It was his sad fate to die,

disprezzo delle cose del mondo, et tanto desiderio delle celesti; che pareva veramente che Nostro Signore Dio gli havesse riserbato il cumulo di tutti le gratie à quel ponto." Lettera del Nunzio, MS.

[45] "Tanto hanno da durare le mie miserie." Ibid.

[46] "And so," says Cabrera, somewhat bluntly, "the king withdrew to his apartment, with more sorrow in his heart, and less care:" "Algunas oras antes de su fallecimiento, por entre los onbros del Prior don Antonio i de Rui Gomez le echò su bendicion, i se recogiò en su camara cõ mas dolor i menos cuidado." Filipe Segundo, lib. viii. cap. 5.

[47] "Il Rè non l' ha visitato, ne lassato che la Regina ne la Principessa lo veggiano, forse considerando che poi che già si conosceva

* [M. Gachard considers this excuse as unfounded. But, admitting it, he adds, "should Philip have followed this counsel? . . . Had he not the bowels of a father?" One can feel no hesitation in answering both questions in the negative.—K.]

as he had lived throughout his confinement, under the cold gaze of his enemies. Yet he died at peace with all; and some of the last words that he uttered were to forgive his father for his imprisonment, and the ministers—naming Ruy Gomez and Espinosa in particular—who advised him to it.[48]

Carlos now grew rapidly more feeble, having scarce strength enough left to listen to the exhortations of his confessor, and with low, indistinct murmurings to adore the crucifix which he held constantly in his hand. On the twenty-fourth of July, soon after midnight, he was told it was the Vigil of St. James. Then suddenly rousing, with a gleam of joy on his countenance, he intimated his desire for his confessor to place the holy taper in his hand; and feebly beating his breast, as if to invoke the mercy of Heaven on his transgressions, he fell back, and expired without a groan.[49] "No Catholic," says Nobili, "ever made a more Catholic end." [50]

Such is the account given us of the last hours of this most unfortunate prince, by the papal nuncio

disperato il caso suo, queste visite simili poterono più presto conturbare l' una et l' altra delle parti, che aiutarli in cosa nessuna." Lettera del Nunzio, MS.

[48] "Il Prencipe di Spagna avante la morte diceva, che perdoneva a tutti, et nominatamente al Padre, che l' haveva carcerato, et a Ruy Gomez, cardinal Presidente, Dottor Velasco, et altri, per lo consiglio de' quali credeva essere stato preso." Lettera del Nunzio, Luglio 28, 1568, MS.

[49] "Et battendosi il petto come poteva, essendoli mancata la virtù a poco a poco, ritirandosi la vita quasi da membro in membro, espirò con molta tranquillità et constanza." Lettera del Nunzio, MS.

[50] "Et testificono quelli, che vi si trovorno che Christiano nessuno può morir più cattolicamente, ne in maggior sentimento di lui." Lettera di Nobili, Luglio 30, 1568, MS.

and the Tuscan minister, and repeated, with slight discrepancies, by most of the Castilian writers of that and the following age.[51] It is a singular circumstance that, although we have such full reports both of what preceded and what followed the death of Carlos, from the French ambassador, the portion of his correspondence which embraces his death has been withdrawn, whether by accident or design, from the archives.[52] But probably no one without the walls of the palace had access to better sources of information than the two ministers first mentioned, especially the papal nuncio. Their intelligence may well have been derived from some

[51] See, among others, Quintana, Historia de la Antiguëdad, Nobleza y Grandeza de la Villa y Corte de Madrid (1629), fol. 368,—Colmenares, Historia de la Insigne Ciudad de Segovia (Madrid, 1640), cap. 43,—Pinelo, Anales de Madrid, MS.,—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. viii. cap. 5,—Herrera, Historia general, lib. xv. cap. 3,—Carta de Francisco de Erasso, MS.,—Carta de Gomez Manrique, MS.

[52] Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 147.—Von Raumer has devoted some fifty pages of his fragmentary compilation to the story of Don Carlos, and more especially to the closing scenes of his life. The sources are of the most unexceptionable kind, being chiefly the correspondence of the French ministers with their court, existing among the MSS. in the Royal Library at Paris. The selections made are pertinent in their character, and will be found of the greatest importance to illustrate this dark passage in the history of the time. If I have not arrived at the same conclusions in all respects as those of the illustrious German scholar, it may be that my judgment has been modified by the wider range of materials at my command.*

* [Fragments of two letters written by the French ambassador, De Fourquevaulx, on the 26th of July, have been preserved. They notice the death of Carlos as proceeding from the excesses mentioned in the text. In one of them, however, the writer says, "I saw his face when his body was deposited with the monks of San Domingo el Real: it showed no effects of disease, except that it was somewhat yellow; but I understand that the rest of the body was mere bones." Gachard, Don Carlos et Philippe II., tom. ii., Appendice *C*.—K.]

who had been about the person of Carlos. If so, it could not have been communicated without the approbation of Philip, who may have been willing that the world should understand that his son had died true to the Faith.

A very different account of the end of Carlos is given by Llorente. And as this writer, the secretary of the Inquisition, had access to very important materials, and as his account, though somewhat prolix, is altogether remarkable, I cannot pass it by in silence.

According to Llorente, the process already noticed as having been instituted against Carlos was brought to a close only a short time before his death. No notice of it, during all this time, had been given to the prisoner, and no counsel was employed in his behalf. By the ninth of July the affair was sufficiently advanced for a "summary judgment." It resulted, from the evidence, that the accused was guilty of treason in both the first and second degree,—as having endeavored to compass the death of the king, his father, and as having conspired to usurp the sovereignty of Flanders. The counsellor Muñatones, in his report which he laid before the king, while he stated that the penalty imposed by the law on every other subject for these crimes was death, added that his majesty, by his sovereign authority, might decide that the heir-apparent was placed by his rank above the reach of ordinary laws. And it was further in his power to mitigate or dispense with any penalty whatever, when he considered it for the good of his subjects. In this judgment both

the ministers, Ruy Gomez and Espinosa, declared their concurrence.

To this the king replied that, though his feelings moved him to follow the suggestion of his ministers, his conscience would not permit it. He could not think that he should consult the good of his people by placing over them a monarch so vicious in his disposition and so fierce and sanguinary in his temper as Carlos. However agonizing it might be to his feelings as a father, he must allow the law to take its course. Yet, after all, he said, it might not be necessary to proceed to this extremity. The prince's health was in so critical a state that it was only necessary to relax the precautions in regard to his diet, and his excesses would soon conduct him to the tomb! One point only was essential, that he should be so well advised of his situation that he should be willing to confess and make his peace with Heaven before he died. This was the greatest proof of love which he could give to his son and to the Spanish nation.

Ruy Gomez and Espinosa both of them inferred from this singular ebullition of parental tenderness that they could not further the real intentions of the king better than by expediting as much as possible the death of Carlos. Ruy Gomez accordingly communicated his views to Olivares, the prince's physician. This he did in such ambiguous and mysterious phrase as, while it intimated his meaning, might serve to veil the enormity of the crime from the eyes of the party who was to perpetrate it. No man was more competent to this delicate task than the prince of Eboli, bred from

his youth in courts, and trained to a life of dissimulation. Olivares readily comprehended the drift of his discourse,—that the thing required of him was to dispose of the prisoner in such a way that his death should appear natural and that the honor of the king should not be compromised. He raised no scruples, but readily signified his willingness faithfully to execute the will of his sovereign. Under these circumstances, on the twentieth of July, a purgative dose was administered to the unsuspecting patient, who, as may be imagined, rapidly grew worse. It was a consolation to his father that, when advised of his danger, Carlos consented to receive his confessor. Thus, though the body perished, the soul was saved.[53]

Such is the extraordinary account given us by Llorente, which, if true, would at once settle the question in regard to the death of Carlos. But Llorente, with a disingenuousness altogether unworthy of an historian in a matter of so grave import, has given us no knowledge of the sources whence his information was derived. He simply says that they are " certain secret memoirs of the time, full of curious anecdote, which, though not possessing precisely the character of authenticity, are nevertheless entitled to credit, as coming from persons employed in the palace of the king "![54] Had the writer condescended to acquaint us with the names, or some particulars of the characters, of his authors, we might have been able to form

[53] Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition, tom. iii. p. 171, et seq.

[54] " Quoique ces documens ne soient pas authentiques, ils méritent qu'on y ajoute foi, en ce qu'ils sont de certaines personnes employés dans le palais du roi." Ibid., p. 171.

some estimate of the value of their testimony. His omission to do this may lead us to infer that he had not perfect confidence in it himself. At all events, it compels us to trust the matter entirely to his own discretion, a virtue which those familiar with his inaccuracies in other matters will not be disposed to concede to him in a very eminent degree.[55]

His narrative, moreover, is in direct contradiction to the authorities I have already noticed, especially to the two foreign ministers so often quoted, who, with the advantages—not a few—that they possessed for getting correct information, were indefatigable in collecting it. "I say nothing," writes the Tuscan envoy, alluding to the idle rumors of the town, "of gossip unworthy to be listened to. It is a hard thing to satisfy the populace. It is best to stick to the truth, without caring for the opinions of those who talk wildly of improbable matters, which have their origin in ignorance and malice." [56]

[55] Thus, for example, he makes the contradictory statements, at the distance of four pages from each other, that the prince did, and that he did not, confide to Don John his desire to kill his father (pp. 148, 152). The fact is that Llorente in a manner pledged himself to solve the mystery of the prince's death, by announcing to his readers, at the outset, that "he believed he had discovered the truth." One fact he must be allowed to have established,—one which, as secretary of the Inquisition, he had the means of verifying,—namely, that no process was ever instituted against Carlos by the Holy Office. This was to overturn a vulgar error, on which more than one writer of fiction has built his story.

[56] "Le cicalerie et novellacce che si dicono sono molto indigne d'essere ascoltate, non che scritte, perchè in vero il satisfar al popolaccio in queste simili cose è molto difficile; et meglio è fare siccome porta il giusto et l' honesto, senza curarsi del giudicio d' huomini insani, et che parlano senza ragione di cose impertinenti et impossibili

Still, it cannot be denied that suspicions of foul play to Carlos were not only current abroad, but were entertained by persons of higher rank than the populace at home,—where it could not be safe to utter them. Among others, the celebrated Antonio Perez, one of the household of the prince of Eboli, informs us that, "as the king had found Carlos guilty, he was condemned to death by casuists and inquisitors. But, in order that the execution of this sentence might not be brought too palpably before the public, they mixed for four months together a slow poison in his food." [57]

This statement agrees to a certain extent with that of a noble Venetian, Pietro Giustiniani, then in Castile, who assured the historian De Thou that "Philip, having determined on the death of his son, obtained a sentence to that effect from a lawful judge. But, in order to save the honor of the sovereign, the sentence was executed in secret, and Carlos was made to swallow some poisoned broth, of which he died some hours afterwards." [58]

Some of the particulars mentioned by Antonio Perez may be thought to receive confirmation from an account given by the French minister, Fourquevaulx, in a letter dated about a month after the prince's arrest. "The prince," he says, "becomes visibly thinner and more dried up; and his

di autori incerti, dappochi et maligni." Lettera di Nobili, Luglio 30, 1568, MS.

[57] Letter of Antonio Perez to the counsellor Du Vair, ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 153.

[58] "Mais afin de sauver l'honneur du sang royal, l'arrêt fut exécuté en secret, et on lui fit avaler un bouïllon empoisonné, dont il mourut quelques heures après, au commencement de sa vingt-troisième année." De Thou, Histoire universelle, tom. v. p. 436

eyes are sunk in his head. They give him sometimes strong soups and capon broths, in which amber and other nourishing things are dissolved, that he may not wholly lose his strength and fall into decrepitude. These soups are prepared privately in the chamber of Ruy Gomez, through which one passes into that of the prince."

It was not to be expected that a Castilian writer should have the temerity to assert that the death of Carlos was brought about by violence. Yet Cabrera, the best-informed historian of the period, who in his boyhood had frequent access to the house of Ruy Gomez, and even to the royal palace, while he describes the excesses of Carlos as the cause of his untimely end, makes some mysterious intimations, which, without any forced construction, seem to point to the agency of others in bringing about that event.[59]

Strada, the best-informed, on the whole, of the foreign writers of the period, and who, as a foreigner, had not the same motives for silence as a Spaniard, qualifies his account of the prince's death as having taken place in the natural way, by saying, "if indeed he did not perish by violence."[60] The prince of Orange, in his bold de-

[59] "Mas es peligroso manejar vidrios, i dar ocasion de tragedias famosas, acaecimientos notables, violentas muertes por los secretos executores Reales no sabidas, i por inesperadas terribles, i por la estrañeza i rigor de justicia, despues de largas advertencias a los que no cuidando dellas incurrieron en crimen de lesa Magestad." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 22.—The admirable obscurity of the passage, in which the historian has perfectly succeeded in mystifying his critics, has naturally led them to suppose that more was meant by him than meets the eye.

[60] "Ex morbo ob alimenta partim obstinatè recusata, partim intemperanter adgesta, nimiamque nivium refrigerationem, super animi

nunciation of Philip, does not hesitate to proclaim him the murderer of his son.[61] And that inquisitive gossip-monger, Brantôme, amidst the bitter jests and epigrams which, he tells us, his countrymen levelled at Philip for his part in this transaction, quotes the authority of a Spaniard of rank for the assertion that after Carlos had been condemned by his father—in opposition to the voice of his council—the prince was found dead in his chamber, smothered with a towel![62] Indeed, the various modes of death assigned to him are sufficient evidence of the uncertainty as to any one of them.[63] A writer of more recent date does not scruple to assert that the only liberty granted to Carlos was that of selecting the manner of his death out of several kinds that were proposed to him;[64]—an

ægritudinem (*si modò vis abfuit*) in Divi Jacobi pervigilio extinctus est." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 378.

[61] Apologie, ap. Dumont, Corps diplomatique, tom. v. par. 1, p. 389.

[62] "Parquoy le roi conclud sur ses raisons que le meilleur estoit de le faire mourir; dont un matin on le trouva en prison estouffé d'un linge." Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. i. p. 320.—A taste for jesting on this subject seems to have been still in fashion at the French court as late as Louis the Fourteenth's time. At least, we find that monarch telling some one that "he had sent Bussy Rabutin to the Bastile for his own benefit, as Philip the Second said when he ordered his son to be strangled." Lettres de Madame de Sévigné (Paris, 1822), tom. viii. p. 368.

[63] A French contemporary chronicler dismisses his account of the death of Carlos with the remark that, of all the passages in the history of this reign, the fate of the young prince is the one involved in the most impenetrable mystery. Matthieu, Breve Compendio de la Vida privada de Felipe Segundo (Span. trans.), MS.

[64] The Abbé St. Real finds himself unable to decide whether Carlos took poison, or, like Seneca, had his veins opened in a warm bath, or, finally, whether he was strangled with a silk cord by four slaves sent by his father to do the deed, in Oriental fashion. (Verdadera Historia de la Vida y Muerte del Príncipe Don Carlos, Span. trans., MS.)

incident which has since found a more suitable place in one of the many dramas that have sprung from his mysterious story.

In all this the historian must admit there is but little evidence of positive value. The authors—with the exception of Antonio Perez, who had his account, he tells us, from the prince of Eboli—are by no means likely to have had access to sure sources of information; while their statements are contradictory to one another, and stand in direct opposition to those of the Tuscan minister and of the nuncio, the latter of whom had, probably, better knowledge of what was passing in the councils of the monarch than any other of the diplomatic body. Even the declaration of Antonio Perez, so important on many accounts, is to a considerable degree neutralized by the fact that he was the mortal enemy of Philip, writing in exile, with a price set upon his head by the man whose character he was assailing. It is the hard fate of a person so situated, that even truth from his lips fails to carry with it conviction.[65]

The doubts of St. Real are echoed with formal solemnity by Leti, Vita di Filippo II., tom. i. p. 559.

[65] Von Raumer, who has given an analysis of this letter of Antonio Perez, treats it lightly, as coming from "a double-dealing, bitter enemy of Philip," whose word on such a subject was of little value. (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 155.) It was certainly a singular proof of confidence in one who was so habitually close in his concerns as the prince of Eboli, that he should have made such a communication to Perez. Yet it must be admitted that the narrative derives some confirmation from the fact that the preceding portions of the letter containing it, in which the writer describes the arrest of Carlos, conform with the authentic account of that event as given in the text. It is worthy of notice that both De Thou and Llorente concur with Perez in alleging poison as the cause of the prince's death. Though even here there is an important

If we reject his explanation of the matter, we shall find ourselves again thrown on the sea of conjecture, and may be led to account for the rumors of violence on the part of Philip by the mystery in which the whole of the proceedings was involved, and the popular notion of the character of the monarch who directed them. The same suspicious circumstances must have their influence on the historian of the present day, as, with insufficient though more ample light than was enjoyed by contemporaries, he painfully endeavors to grope his way through this obscure passage in the life of Philip. Many reflections of ominous import naturally press upon his mind. From the first hour of the prince's confinement it was determined, as we have seen, that he was never to be released from it. Yet the preparations for keeping him a prisoner were on so extraordinary a scale, and imposed such a burden on men of the highest rank in the kingdom, as seemed to argue that his confinement was not to be long. It is a common saying,—as old as Machiavelli,—that to a deposed prince the distance is not great from the throne to the grave. Carlos, indeed, had never worn a crown. But there seemed to be the same reasons as if he had, for abridging the term of his imprisonment. All around the prince regarded

discrepancy; Perez asserting it was a slow poison, taking four months to work its effect, while the other authorities say that its operation was immediate. Their general agreement, moreover, in regard to the employment of poison is of the less weight, as such an agency would be the one naturally surmised under circumstances where it would be desirable to leave no trace of violence on the body of the victim.

him with distrust. The king, his father, appeared to live, as we have seen, in greater apprehension of him after his confinement than before.[66] "The ministers, whom Carlos hated," says the nuncio, "knew well that it would be their ruin should he ever ascend the throne." [67] Thus, while the fears and the interests of all seemed to tend to his removal, we find nothing in the character of Philip to counteract the tendency. For when was he ever known to relax his grasp on the victim once within his power, or to betray any feeling of compunction as to sweeping away an obstacle from his path? One has only to call to mind the long confinement, ending with the midnight execution, of Montigny, the open assassination of the prince of Orange, the secret assassination of the secretary Escovedo, the unrelenting persecution of Perez, his agent in that murder, and his repeated attempts to despatch him also by the hand of the bravo. These are passages in the history of Philip which yet remain to be presented to the reader, and the knowledge of which is necessary before we can penetrate into the depths of his dark and unscrupulous character.

If it be thought that there is a wide difference between these deeds of violence and the murder of a son, we must remember that in affairs of religion Philip acted avowedly on the principle that the

[66] If we may take Brantôme's word, there was some ground for such apprehension at all times: "En fin il estoit un terrible masle; et s'il eust vescu, assurez-vous qu'il s'en fust faict acroire, et qu'il eust mis le pere en curatelle." Œuvres, tom. i. p. 323.

[67] "Li più favoriti del Rè erono odiati da lui a morte, et adesso tanto più, et quando questo venisse a regnare si teneriano rovinati loro." Lettera del Nunzio, Febraio 14, 1568, MS.

end justifies the means; that one of the crimes charged upon Carlos was defection from the faith; and that Philip had once replied to the piteous appeal of a heretic whom they were dragging to the stake, "Were my son such a wretch as thou art, I would myself carry the fagots to burn him!" [68]

But, in whatever light we are to regard the death of Carlos,—whether as caused by violence, or by those insane excesses in which he was allowed to plunge during his confinement,—in either event the responsibility, to a great extent, must be allowed to rest on Philip, who, if he did not directly employ the hand of the assassin to take the life of his son, yet by his rigorous treatment drove that son to a state of desperation that brought about the same fatal result.[69]

[68] *Ante*, vol. ii. p. 50.*—It is in this view that Dr. Salazar de Mendoza does not shrink from asserting that, if Philip did make a sacrifice of his son, it rivalled in sublimity that of Isaac by Abraham, and even that of Jesus Christ by the Almighty! "Han dicho de él lo que del Padre Eterno, que no perdonó á su propio Hijo. Lo que del Patriarca Abraham en el sacrificio de Isaac su unigénito. A todo caso humano excede la gloria que de esto le resulta, y no hay con quien comparalla." (Dignidades de Castilla y Leon, p. 417.) He closes this rare piece of courtly blasphemy by assuring us that in point of fact Carlos died a natural death. The doctor wrote in the early part of Philip the Third's reign, when the manner of the prince's death was delicate ground for the historian.

[69] Philip the Second is not the only Spanish monarch who has been charged with the murder of his son. Leovogild, a Visigothic king of

* [M. Gachard remarks that he was inclined to discredit this terrible speech, till he found it confirmed by a passage in a letter of the French minister, Sébastien de l'Aubespine, who, writing to Catherine de Medicis in January, 1562, relates his endeavors to obtain the release of the queen's apothecary, imprisoned by the Inquisition. "The only answer I could get from his majesty," he writes, "was, that if it were his own son, and he had sinned in this particular, he would put him to death." Gachard, Don Carlos et Philippe II., tom. i. p. 57.—K.]

While the prince lay in the agonies of death, scarcely an hour before he breathed his last, a scene of a very different nature was passing in an adjoining gallery of the palace. A quarrel arose there between two courtiers,—one of them a young cavalier, Don Antonio de Leyva, the other Don Diego de Mendoza, a nobleman who had formerly filled with great distinction the post of ambassador at Rome. The dispute arose respecting some *coplas*, of which Mendoza claimed to be the author. Though at this time near sixty years old, the fiery temperament of youth had not been cooled by age. Enraged at what he conceived an insult on the part of his companion, he drew his dagger. The other as promptly unsheathed his sword. Thrusts were exchanged between the parties; and the noise of the fracas at length reached the ears of Philip himself. Indignant at the outrage thus perpetrated within the walls of the palace and at such an hour, he ordered his guards instantly to arrest the offenders. But the com-

the sixth century, having taken prisoner his rebel son, threw him into a dungeon, where he was secretly put to death. The king was an Arian, while the young prince was a Catholic, and might have saved his life if he had been content to abjure his religion. By the Church of Rome, therefore, he was regarded as a martyr; and it is a curious circumstance that it was Philip the Second who procured the canonization of the slaughtered Hermenegild from Pope Sixtus the Fifth. —For the story, taken from that voluminous compilation of Florez, "*La España sagrada*," I am indebted to Milman's History of Latin Christianity (London, 1854), (vol. i. p. 446), one of the most remarkable works of the present age, in which the author reviews, with curious erudition and in a profoundly philosophical spirit, the various changes that have taken place in the Roman hierarchy; and while he fully exposes the manifold errors and corruptions of the system, he shows throughout that enlightened charity which is the most precious of Christian graces, as unhappily it is the rarest.

batants, brought to their senses, had succeeded in making their escape, and taken refuge in a neighboring church. Philip was too much incensed to respect this asylum; and an alcalde, by his command, entered the church at midnight and dragged the offenders from the sanctuary. Leyva was put in irons, and lodged in the fortress of Madrid; while his rival was sent to the tower of Simancas. "It is thought they will pay for this outrage with their lives," writes the Tuscan minister, Nobili. "The king," he adds, "has even a mind to cashier his guard for allowing them to escape." Philip, however, confined the punishment of the nobles to banishment from court,[70] and the old courtier, Mendoza, profited by his exile to give to the world those remarkable compositions, both in history and romance, that form an epoch in the national literature.*

A few days before his death, Carlos is said to have made a will, in which, after imploring his father's pardon and blessing, he commended his servants to his care, gave away a few jewels to two or three friends, and disposed of the rest of his property in behalf of sundry churches and monasteries.[71] Agreeably to his wish, his body

[70] Lettera di Nobili, Luglio 30, 1568, MS.

[71] I have before me another will made by Don Carlos in 1564, in Alcalá de Henares, the original of which is still extant in the Archives of Simancas. In one item of this document he bequeaths five thousand ducats to Don Martin de Córdova for his gallant defence of Mazarquivir.

* [His History of the War of Granada was composed during his exile, but the work by which Mendoza is best known, Lazarillo de Tórmes, had been published in 1553, and is supposed to have been written while the author was a student at Salamanca.—K.]

was wrapped in a Franciscan robe, and was soon afterwards laid in a coffin covered with black velvet and rich brocade. At seven o'clock that same evening, the remains of Carlos were borne from the chamber where he died, to their place of interment.[72]

The coffin was supported on the shoulders of the prince of Eboli, the dukes of Infantado and Rio Seco, and other principal grandees. In the court-yard of the palace was a large gathering of the members of the religious fraternities, dignitaries of the church, foreign ambassadors, nobles and cavaliers about the court, and officers of the royal household. There were there also the late attendants of Carlos,—to some of whom he had borne little love,—who, after watching him through his captivity, were now come to conduct him to his final resting-place. Before moving, some wrangling took place among the parties on the question of precedence. Such a spirit might well have been rebuked by the solemn character of the business they were engaged in, which might have reminded them that in the grave, at least, there are no distinctions. But the perilous question was happily settled by Philip himself, who, from an open window of the palace, looked down on the scene, and, with his usual composure, give directions for forming the procession.[73] The king did not accompany

[72] Lettera del Nunzio, Luglio 28, 1568, MS.—Quintana, Historia de Madrid, fol. 369.

[73] "Partieron con el cuerpo, aviendo el Rey con la entereza de animo que mantuvo sienpre, conpuesto desde una ventana las diferencias de los Consejos disposiendo la precedencia, cesando assi la competencia." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. viii. cap. 5.

it. Slowly it defiled through the crowded streets, where the people gave audible utterance to their grief, as they gazed on the funeral pomp, and their eyes fell on the bier of the prince who, they had fondly hoped, would one day sway the sceptre of Castile, and whose errors, great as they were, were all forgotten in his unparalleled misfortunes.[74]

The procession moved forward to the convent of San Domingo Real, where Carlos had desired that his ashes might be laid. The burial-service was there performed with great solemnity, in presence of the vast multitude. But, whether it was that Philip distrusted the prudence of the preachers, or feared some audacious criticism on his conduct, no discourse was allowed to be delivered from the pulpit. For nine days religious services were performed in honor of the deceased; and the office for the dead continued to be read, morning and evening, before an audience among whom were the great nobles and the officers of state, clad in full mourning. The queen and the princess Joanna might be seen, on these occasions, mingling their tears with the few who cherished the memory of Carlos. A niche was excavated in the wall of the church, within the choir, in which the prince's remains were deposited. But they did not rest there long. In 1573 they were removed, by Philip's orders, to the Escorial; and in its gloomy cham-

[74] The particulars of the ceremony are given by the Nunzio, Lettera di 28 di Luglio, MS.—See also Quintana, Historia de Madrid, fol. 369.

bers they were left to mingle with the kindred dust of the royal line of Austria.[75]

Philip wrote to Zuñiga, his ambassador in

[75] Pinelo, Anales de Madrid, MS.—Quintana, Historia de Madrid, fol. 369.—Lettera del Nunzio, Luglio 28, 1568, MS.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. viii. cap. 5.*

* [Among other rumors in regard to the prince's death was one that he had been beheaded. It is even asserted in the Memoirs of Saint-Simon that the body lay in the coffin with the head separated from it and placed between the legs. This, at least, seems to be disproved by a manuscript which came into Prescott's possession after the first publication of the present volume, and which he transmitted to M. Gachard, by whom it has been printed. It is dated at the Escorial, August 2d, 1795, and bears no signature, but is conjectured by M. Gachard to have been written by a person holding some post at the Spanish court. The writer states that he had seen the body of Carlos, which was entire and showed only such changes as the length of time which had elapsed since his death would naturally have produced. But a better-authenticated account of the condition and appearance of the body in 1812, when it was exhumed by order of Colonel Bory de Saint-Vincent, an officer on the staff of Marshal Soult, is also cited by M. Gachard. It was written by Colonel Bory himself, and originally printed by the Baron de Reiffenberg in his edition of Vandervynckt's *Histoire des Troubles des Pays-Bas*. The coffin was found in its proper position relatively to those of the other members of the family, ranged in order of date; but it was so much heavier than any of the rest that it could not be entirely lifted out of the place of deposit. It was supported, however, and the lid, having evidently been removed on a former occasion and clumsily replaced, was easily detached. "Instead of a fine mummy," continues the writer, "habited like those we had just seen, we found compact lime, the uneven surface of which was hard and pebbly. This lime had been removed in some places, as if to seek traces of the body, which had no doubt been covered with it in order to prevent recognition. Some parts had in fact been laid bare. On tearing off other pieces of this substance, we found bones and strips of skin or flesh reduced to the consistence of old rags." The existence of the skull was also verified, with much of the hair well preserved, though reddish and brittle, but with no remains of the integuments either on the frontal or parietal bones, which were both laid bare. An attempt was made to discover if the vertebral column, which alone could be supposed to have escaped corrosion, were intact; but it was interrupted by the arrival of an orderly to announce that the army was in motion.—K.]

Rome, to intimate his wish that no funeral honors should be paid there to the memory of Carlos, that no mourning should be worn, and that his holiness would not feel under the necessity of sending him letters of condolence.[76] Zuñiga did his best. But he could not prevent the obsequies from being celebrated with the lugubrious pomp suited to the rank of the departed. A catafalque was raised in the church of Saint James; the services were performed in presence of the ambassador and his attendants, who were dressed in the deepest black; and twenty-one cardinals, one of whom was Granvelle, assisted at the solemn ceremonies.[77] But no funeral panegyric was pronounced, and no monumental inscription recorded the imaginary virtues of the deceased.[78]

Soon after the prince's death, Philip retired to the monastery of St. Jerome, in whose cloistered recesses he remained some time longer secreted from the eyes of his subjects. "He feels his loss like a father," writes the papal nuncio, "but he bears it with the patience of a Christian."[79] He caused despatches to be sent to foreign courts, to

[76] Carta del Rey á Zuñiga, Agosto 27, 1568, MS.

[77] "Digo la missa el Cardenal Tarragona, asistiendo á las honras 21 cardenales ademas de los obispos y arzobispos." Aviso de un Italiano plático y familiar de Ruy Gomez de Silva, MS.

[78] "Oracion funebre," writes the follower of Ruy Gomez, "no la hubo, pero yo hizo estos epitaphios y versos por mi consolacion." Ibid.—Whatever "consolation" the Latin doggerel which follows in the original may have given to its author, it would have too little interest for the reader to be quoted here.

[79] "Il Rè como padre ha sentito molto, ma come christiano la comporta con quella patienza con che dovemo ricevere le tribulationi che ci manda Nostro Signore Dio." Lettera del Nunzio, Luglio 24, 1568, MS.

acquaint them with his late bereavement. In his letter to the duke of Alva he indulges in a fuller expression of his personal feelings. "You may conceive," he says, "in what pain and heaviness I find myself, now that it has pleased God to take my dear son, the prince, to himself. He died in a Christian manner, after having, three days before, received the sacrament, and exhibited repentance and contrition,—all which serves to console me under this affliction. For I hope that God has called him to himself, that he may be with him evermore; and that he will grant me his grace, that I may endure this calamity with a Christian heart and patience." [80]

Thus, in the morning of life, at little more than twenty-three years of age, perished Carlos, prince of Asturias. No one of his time came into the world under so brilliant auspices; for he was heir to the noblest empire in Christendom; and the Spaniards, as they discerned in his childhood some of the germs of future greatness in his character, looked confidently forward to the day when he should rival the glory of his grandfather, Charles the Fifth. But he was born under an evil star, which counteracted all the gifts of fortune and turned them into a curse. His naturally wild and headstrong temper was exasperated by disease, and, when encountered by the distrust and alienation of him who had the control of his destiny, was exalted into a state of frenzy, that furnishes the best apology for his extravagances, and vindicates

[80] Raumer has given an extract from this letter, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 149.

the necessity of some measures, on the part of his father, to restrain them. Yet can those who reject the imputation of murder acquit the father of inexorable rigor towards his child in the measures which he employed, or of the dreadful responsibility which attaches to the consequences of them? *

* [M. Gachard, while even more emphatic than Prescott in his condemnation of the cruel treatment and "moral tortures" by which he considers Don Carlos to have been driven to desperation, and his end precipitated, is, on the other hand, far more decided in rejecting all the accounts of his having perished by violence. He dismisses them, indeed, with the single remark that "they destroy each other." But the inconsistency of several stories in regard to details is no convincing proof that they do not all contain the essential truth, or that one of them may not be true in every particular. There were contradictory reports in regard to the death of Montigny, leading some inquirers to discredit altogether the story of his assassination until the fact was established by documentary proof. The popular belief seems to have been grounded simply on the suspicious circumstances of the case. In the present case the grounds for a like belief are far stronger and more abundant. The circumstances were, indeed, such as to raise a strong presumption against Philip, and throw upon him the burden of proof,—not, indeed, in a court of law, could he have been brought before such a tribunal, but before the bar of history, where he now stands. He had deprived Carlos of his liberty, immured him in the strictest confinement, surrounded him with his own creatures bound to execute his will and sworn to secrecy in regard to all that might take place, forbidden the access of all other persons, including the nearest of kin and the highest in rank, the officials of the kingdom and the representatives of foreign powers, and thus prevented all publicity or any relation of the facts by unsuspected witnesses. Nor does the presumption against him stop here: on the contrary, it is strengthened at every step of the inquiry. He had announced that his object was one not to be gained by temporary expedients, and had made known his intention that Carlos was not to succeed him on the throne. He had intimated that his son was by his mental and moral defects unfitted to rule; but no council of physicians was summoned, and no investigation was made of which the results were ever published. To have deprived Carlos of the succession without the fullest proofs of his incapacity would have been all but impossible; and even could the legal impediments have been removed and the assent of the cortes obtained, this would only have had the effect of dividing the nation and sowing the seeds of civil war. There was, therefore, no sure

way in which Philip could deprive his son of his inheritance except by depriving him of his life. That the obstacle thus prevented would not have seemed insurmountable in his eyes, we know both from his own words and from the general tenor of his acts. And with Philip were leagued, as his chief counsellors and his special confidants in this affair, Ruy Gomez and Espinoza, to both of whom Carlos had shown himself inimical, and who, as was noted by all observers at the time, had cause to tremble for their own safety if he were suffered to live and reign.

The question remains whether the presumption thus raised is overcome by the credibility of the relations put forth at the time in regard to the death of Carlos. These relations are twofold. The official account, addressed to the municipalities, recites briefly and generally the prince's excesses in eating and in the use of ice and iced water, followed by long abstinence from food and consequent reduction of the system, as the causes of his death. This account is considered by M. Gachard as on many grounds unworthy of credence. But surely the fact that the story sent forth by Philip bears the marks of falsehood warrants the inference that he had strong motives for concealing the truth. M. Gachard, however, while rejecting this story, accepts as probable and sufficiently authenticated that which is found in the letters of several of the foreign ministers, though it is neither dissimilar in character nor better supported by evidence. It is given by some of the writers as only one of many rumors, and by the others without any mention of their authority, but impliedly as the account allowed to be current at the court. It attributes the death of Carlos to his having eaten a huge pasty of partridges, *so highly seasoned as to produce an intolerable thirst*, which he sought to relieve by enormous draughts of water, the result being a violent seizure of vomitings and discharges from the bowels, ending in a debility of the stomach which rendered all remedies unavailing. Anything more suspicious than this story it would be difficult to conceive. It has all the air of having been invented to account for symptoms and appearances which would have pointed at once to the administration of poison,—the mode of death alleged by Antonio Perez, whose testimony has been too lightly discredited, as well as by De Thou and Llorente. Even if the facts be accepted, the only construction to which they are subject is one that makes no essential difference in regard to the question at issue. If those who, when Carlos was at liberty, had restricted his diet to a measured quantity of the simplest food, placed before him when a prisoner the dish described and allowed him to devour it, their intention cannot be doubtful. If the account by Colonel Bory de Saint-Vincent of the disinterment of the body and its condition be accepted as trustworthy, the evidence against Philip will be complete.—K.]

CHAPTER VIII

DEATH OF ISABELLA

Queen Isabella—Her Relations with Carlos—Her Illness and Death —Her Character

1568

THREE months had not elapsed after the young and beautiful queen of Philip the Second had wept over the fate of her unfortunate step-son, when she was herself called upon to follow him to the tomb. The occurrence of these sad events so near together, and the relations of the parties, who had once been designed for each other, suggested the idea that criminal passion subsisted between them, and that, after her lover's death, Isabella was herself sacrificed to the jealousy of a vindictive husband.

One will in vain look for this tale of horror in the native historians of Castile. Nor does any historian of that day, native or foreign, whom I have consulted, in noticing the rumors of the time, cast a reproach on the fair fame of Isabella; through more than one must be allowed to intimate the existence of the prince's passion for his stepmother.[1] Brantôme tells us that when Carlos first

[1] Besides Brantôme and De Thou, elsewhere noticed in this connection, another writer of that age, Pierre Matthieu, the royal historiographer of France, may be thought to insinuate something of the kind, when he tells us that "the circumstance of Isabella so soon

saw the queen " he was so captivated by her charms that he conceived from that time a mortal spite against his father, whom he often reproached for the great wrong he had done him in ravishing from him this fair prize." " And this," adds the writer, " was said in part to have been the cause of the prince's death; for he could not help loving the queen at the bottom of his soul, as well as honoring and reverencing one who was so truly amiable and deserving of love." [2] He afterwards gives us to understand that many rumors were afloat in regard to the manner of the queen's death, and tells a story, not very probable, of a Jesuit who was banished to the farthest Indies for denouncing, in his pulpit, the wickedness of those who could destroy so innocent a creature.[3]

A graver authority, the prince of Orange, in his public vindication of his own conduct, openly charges Philip with the murder of both his son and his wife. It is to be noticed, however, that he nowhere intimates that either of the parties was in

following Carlos to the tomb had suggested very different grounds from those he had already given as the cause of his death." (Breve Compendio de la Vida privada del Rey Felipe Segundo, MS.) But the French writer's account of Philip is nearly as apocryphal as the historical romance of St. Real, who, in all that relates to Carlos in particular, will be found largely indebted to the lively imagination of his predecessor.

[2] " Aussi dit on que cela fut cause de sa mort en partie, avec d'autres subjects que je ne dirai point à ceste heure; car il ne se pouvoit garder de l'aimer dans son ame, l'honorer et reverer, tant il la trouvoit aymable et agreable à ses yeux, comme certes elle l'estoit en tout." Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. v. p. 128.

[3] " Luy eschappa de dire que c'avoit esté fait fort meschamment de l'avoir fait mourir et si innocentement, dont il fut banny jusques au plus profond des Indes d'Espagne. Cela est tres que vray, à ce que l'on dit." Ibid., p. 132.

love with the other; and he refers the queen's death to Philip's desire to open the way to a marriage with the Princess Anne of Austria.[4] Yet these two authorities are the only ones of that day, so far as I am aware, who have given countenance to these startling rumors. Both were foreigners, far removed from the scene of action: one of them a light, garrulous Frenchman, whose amusing pages, teeming with the idle gossip of the court, are often little better than a *Chronique Scandaleuse;* the other, the mortal enemy of Philip, whose character—as the best means of defending his own—he was assailing with the darkest imputations.

No authority, however, beyond that of vulgar rumor, was required by the unscupulous writers of a later time, who discerned the capabilities of a story like that of Carlos and Isabella, in the situations of romantic interest which it would open to the reader. Improving on this hint, they have

[4] Apologie, ap. Dumont, Corps diplomatique, tom. v. par. 1, p. 389.—Strada, while he notices the common rumors respecting Carlos and Isabella, dismisses them as wholly unworthy of credit: "Mihi, super id quod incomperta sunt, etiam veris dissimilia videntur." De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 379.*

* [A brief citation of facts and dates will suffice to refute the theory put forth in the Apology. In letters written on the 19th of May, Philip definitively renounced the project of a marriage between Carlos and the archduchess Anne, and recommended that she should accept an offer which had been made by the French king. Maximilian accordingly empowered his brother, the archduke Charles, whom he was sending on a mission to Madrid, to conclude the alliance with Charles IX. Before he could set out, intelligence arrived of the death of Carlos, followed, while he was on his way, by that of the queen's decease. He was then instructed to offer his sister's hand to Philip, who cannot, therefore, have expected the proposal, though he readily accepted it.—K.]

filled in the outlines of the picture with the touches of their own fancy, until the interest thus given to this tale of love and woe has made it as widely known as any of the classic myths of early Grecian history.[5]

Fortunately, we have the power, in this case, of establishing the truth from unsuspicious evidence, —that of Isabella's own countrymen, whose residence at the court of Madrid furnished them with ample means of personal observation. Isabella's mother, the famous Catherine de Medicis, associated with so much that is terrible in our imaginations, had at least the merit of watching over her daughter's interest with the most affectionate solicitude. This did not diminish when, at the age of fifteen, Elizabeth of France left her own land and ascended the throne of Spain. Catherine kept up a constant correspondence with her daughter, sometimes sending her instructions as to her conduct, at other times medical prescriptions in regard to her health. She was careful also to obtain information respecting Isabella's mode of life from the French ambassadors at the court of Castile; and we may be quite sure that these loyal

[5] At the head of these writers must undoubtedly be placed the Abbé St. Real, with whose romantic history of Don Carlos I am only acquainted in the Castilian translation, entitled "Verdadera Historia de la Vida y Muerte del Príncipe Don Carlos." Yet, romance as it is, more than one grave historian has not disdained to transplant its flowers of fiction into his own barren pages. It is edifying to see the manner in which Leti, who stands not a little indebted to St. Real, after stating the scandalous rumors in regard to Carlos and Isabella, concludes by declaring, "Ma come io scrivo historia, e non romanzo, non posso affirmar nulla di certo, perche nulla di certo hò possuto raccore." Leti, Vita di Filippo II., tom. i. p. 560.

subjects would have been quick to report any injurious treatment of the queen by her husband.

A candid perusal of their despatches dispels all mystery,—or, rather, proves there never was any cause for mystery. The sallow, sickly boy of fourteen—for Carlos was no older at the time of Isabella's marriage—was possessed of too few personal attractions to make it probable that he could have touched the heart of his beautiful stepmother, had she been lightly disposed. But her intercourse with him from the first seems to have been such as naturally arose from the relations of the parties, and from the kindness of her disposition, which led her to feel a sympathy for the personal infirmities and misfortunes of Carlos. Far from attempting to disguise her feelings in this matter, she displayed them openly in her correspondence with her mother, and before her husband and the world.

Soon after Isabella's arrival at Madrid, we find a letter from the bishop of Limoges to Charles the Ninth, her brother, informing him that "his sister, on entering the palace of Madrid, gave the prince so gracious and affectionate a reception that it afforded singular contentment to the king, and yet more to Carlos, as appeared by his frequent visits to the queen,—as frequent as the etiquette of a court much stiffer than that of Paris would permit." [6] Again, writing in the following month,

[6] "Monsieur le prince d'Hespaigne fort extenué, la vint saluer, qu'elle receut avec telle caresse et comportement, que si le père et toute la compaignie en ont receu ung singulier contentement ledit prince l'a encores plus grand, comme il a desmonstré depuis et démonstre losqu'il la visite, qui ne peut estre souvent; car, outre que les conversations de ce pays ne sont pas si fréquentes et faciles qu'en

the bishop speaks of the queen as endeavoring to amuse Carlos, when he came to see her in the evening, with such innocent games and pastimes as might cheer the spirits of the young prince, who seemed to be wasting away under his malady.[7]

The next year we have a letter to Catherine de Medicis from one of Isabella's train, who had accompanied her from France. After speaking of her mistress as sometimes supping in the garden with the princess Joanna, she says they were often joined there by "the prince, who loves the queen singularly well, and, as I suspect, would have had no objection to be more nearly related to her."[8] There is nothing improbable in the supposition that Carlos, grateful for kindness to which he had not been too much accustomed, should, as he grew older, have yielded to the influence of a princess whose sweet disposition and engaging manners seem to have won the hearts of all who approached

France, sa fièvre quarte le travaille tellement, que de jour en jour il va s'exténuant." L'Évêque de Limoges au Roi, 23 février, 1559, Négociations relatives au Règne de François II., p. 272.

[7] "Ayant ladite dame mis toute la peine qu'il a esté possible à luy donner, aux soirs, quelque plaisir du bail et autres honnestes passe-temps, desquels il a bon besoin, car le pauvre prince est si bas et exténué, il va d'heure à heure tant affoiblissant, que les plus sages de ceste court en ont bien petite espérance." L'Évêque de Limoges au Roi, 1er mars, 1559, Ibid., p. 291.*

[8] "La royne et la princesse la visitent bien souvent, et sopent en un jardin qui est auprès de la meson, et le prince avec elles, qui aime la royne singulièrement, de façôn qu'il ne ce peut soler de an dire bien. *Je croys qu'il voudroit estre davantage son parent.*" Claude de . . . à la Reine Mère, août, 1560, Ibid., p. 460.

* [The reports that Carlos was "wasting away" would, for obvious reasons, be very agreeable to Catherine de Medicis and the French court. None of the other letters of this period contain such frequent and hopeless accounts of the prince's health as those of the French minister.—K.]

her, or that feelings of resentment should have mingled with his regret as he thought of the hard fate which had placed a barrier between them. It is possible, too, when we consider the prince's impetuous temper, that the French historian De Thou may have had good authority for asserting that Carlos, "after long conversations in the queen's apartment, was often heard, as he came out, to complain loudly of his father's having robbed him of her." [9] But it could have been no vulgar passion that he felt for Isabella, and certainly it received no encouragement from her, if, as Brantôme tells us, "insolent and audacious as he was in his intercourse with all other women, he never came into the presence of his step-mother without such a feeling of reverence as seemed to change his very nature."

Nor is there the least evidence that the admiration excited by the queen, whether in Carlos or in the courtiers, gave any uneasiness to Philip, who seems to have reposed entire confidence in her discretion. And while we find Isabella speaking of Philip to her mother as "so good a husband, and rendering her so happy by his attentions, that it made the dullest spot in the world agreeable to her," [10] we meet with a letter from the French

[9] "On entendit aussi très-souvent ce jeune Prince, lorsqu'il sortoit de la chambre de la Reine Elizabeth, avec qui il avoit de longs et fréquens entretiens, se plaindre et marquer sa colere et son indignation, de ce que son pere la lui avoit enlevée." De Thou, Histoire universelle, tom. v. p. 434.

[10] "Vous dirès-ge, madame, que sy se n'estoit la bonne compaignie où je suis en se lieu, et l'heur que j'ai de voir tous les jours le roy mon seigneur, je trouverois se lieu l'un des plus fâcheux du monde. Mais je vous assure, madame, que j'ay un si bon mari et suis si

minister, Guibert, saying that " the king goes on loving the queen more and more, and that her influence has increased threefold within the last three months." [11] A few years later, in 1565, St. Sulpice, then ambassador in Madrid, writes to the queen-mother in emphatic terms of the affectionate intercourse that subsisted between Philip and his consort. " I can assure you, madam," he says, " that the queen, your daughter, lives in the greatest content in the world, by reason of the perfect friendship which ever draws her more closely to her husband. He shows her the most unreserved confidence, and is so cordial in his treatment of her as to leave nothing to be desired." [12] The writer quotes a declaration made to him by Philip, that " the loss of his consort would be a heavier misfortune than had ever yet befallen him." [13]

Nor was this an empty profession in the king, as he evinced by his indulgence of Isabella's tastes,*—even those national tastes which were not always in accordance with the more rigid rules of Castilian etiquette. To show the freedom with which she lived, I may perhaps be excused for

heureuse que, quant il le seroit cent fois davantage, je ne m'y fâcherois point." La Reine Catholique à la Reine Mère, Négociations relatives au Règne de François II., p. 813.

[11] Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 129.

[12] Ibid., p. 130.

[13] Ibid., ubi supra.

* [Not, however, by his fidelity to his marriage-vows. The queen, according to the Venetian ministers Tiepolo and Soranzo, was well aware of her husband's gallantries, which were numerous, but she had been too well trained by Catherine de Medicis to utter the least complaint. Her only endeavor, we are told, was to please him and to act in all things comformably to his will.—K.]

touching on a few particulars already noticed in a previous chapter. On her coming into the country, she was greeted with balls and other festivities, to which she had been accustomed in the gay capital of France. Her domestic establishment was on a scale of magnificence suited to her station; and the old courtier, Brantôme, dwells with delight on the splendid profusion of her wardrobe and the costly jewels with which it was adorned. When she went abroad, she dispensed with her veil, after the fashion of her own country, though so much at variance with the habits of the Spanish ladies. Yet it made her a greater favorite with the people, who crowded around her wherever she appeared, eager to catch a glimpse of her beautiful features. She brought into the country a troop of French ladies and waiting-women, some of whom remained and married in Castile. Such as returned home she provided with liberal dowries. To persons of her own nation she was ever accessible,—receiving the humblest as well as the highest, says her biographer, with her wonted benignity. With them she conversed in her native tongue. But in the course of three months her ready wit had so far mastered the Castilian that she could make herself understood in that language, and in a short time she spoke it with elegance, though with a slight foreign accent, not unpleasing. Born and bred among a people so different from that with whom her lot was now cast, Isabella seemed to unite in her own person the good qualities of each. The easy vivacity of the French character was so happily tempered by the gravity of the Spanish as to

give an inexpressible charm to her manners.[14] Thus richly endowed with the best gifts of nature and of fortune, it is no wonder that Elizabeth of France should have been the delight of the courtly circle over which she presided and of which she was the greatest ornament.

Her gentle nature must have been much disturbed by witnessing the wild capricious temper of Carlos and the daily increasing estrangement of his father. Yet she did not despair of reclaiming him. At least, we may infer so from the eagerness with which she seconded her mother in pressing the union of her sister, Catherine de Medicis' younger daughter, with the prince. "My sister is of so excellent a disposition," the queen said to Ruy Gomez, "that no princess in Christendom would be more apt to moderate and accommodate herself to my step-son's humors, or be better suited to the father, as well as the son, in their relations with each other."[15] But, although the minister readily adopted the queen's views in the matter, they met with little encouragement from Philip, who at that time seemed more inclined to a connection with the house of Austria.

In the preceding chapter we have seen the pain occasioned to Isabella by the arrest of Carlos. Although so far a gainer by it, as it opened to her own posterity the way to the succession, she wept,

[14] "Ceste taille, elle l'accompagnoit d'un port, d'une majesté, d'un geste, d'un marcher et d'une grace entremeslée de l'espagnole et de la françoise en gravité et en douceur." See Brantôme (Œuvres, tom. v. p. 129), whose loyal pencil has traced the lineaments of Isabella as given in the text.

[15] Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 131.

as the ambassador Fourquevaulx tells us, for two days, over the misfortune of her step-son, until forbidden by Philip to weep any longer.[16] During his confinement, as we have seen, she was not permitted to visit him,—not even to soften the bitterness of his dying hour. And how much her presence would have soothed him at such a time may be inferred from the simple memorandum found among his papers, in which he assigns her the first place among his friends, as having been ever the most loving to him.[17] The same affection, however we may define it, which he had borne her from the first, he retained to the last hour of his life. All that was now granted to Isabella was the sad consolation of joining with the princess Joanna, and the few friends who still cherished the memory of Carlos, in celebrating his funeral obsequies.

Not long after that event, it was announced that the queen was pregnant; * and the nation fondly

[16] Letter of Fourquevaulx, February 8th, 1568, ap. Ibid., p. 139.†

[17] "Gli amici, in primo loco la Regina, la quale diceva che gli era amorevolissima, Don Giovanni d'Austria suo carissimo et diletissimo zio," etc. Lettera del Nunzio, Marzo 2, 1568, MS.

* [The fact had been known by the court long previously. The Tuscan minister, in a letter of March 30th, says it was feared that her grief on account of the prince's imprisonment would occasion a miscarriage.—K.]

† [In an earlier letter, announcing the arrest of Carlos, Fourquevaulx writes to Catherine de Medicis, "The queen is afflicted at it, and weeps from love of both, seeing that the prince also loves her marvellously." A note of the same date (January 19th) from "Élizabet," as she subscribes herself, to Fourquevaulx, has been preserved, in which she says she feels the misfortune as if it were that of her own son, being indebted to the prince for his friendship, and wishing to serve him in return. "Dieu a voulu qu'il est déclaré ce qu'il est, à mon grand regret." The king, whose pain at being compelled to such a measure also afflicts her, has commanded her not to write about the matter till he permits her. Gachard, Don Carlos et Philippe II.—K.]

hoped that it would find a compensation for the loss of its rightful prince, in the birth of a new heir to the throne. But this hope was destined soon to be destroyed. Owing to some mismanagement on the part of the physicians, who, at an early period, misunderstood the queen's situation, the medicines they gave her had an injurious effect on her constitution.[18] It is certain that Isabella placed little confidence in the Spanish doctors, or in their prescriptions.[19] There may have been good ground for her distrust; for their vigorous applications savor not a little of the Sangrado school of practice, directed quite as much against the constitution of the patient as against his disease. About the middle of September a fever set in, which, though not violent, was so obstinate as to defy all the efforts of the physicians to reduce it. More alarming symptoms soon followed. The queen frequently swooned. Her extremities became torpid. Medicines were of no avail, for her stomach refused to retain them.[20] Processions were everywhere made to the churches, and young and old joined in prayers for her recovery. But

[18] Letter of Fourquevaulx, October 3d, 1568, ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 158.

[19] "Pero la Reyna hacia muy poco caudal de lo que los medicos decian, dando á entender con su Real condicion y gracioso semblante tener poca necesidad de sus medicinas." Relacion de la Enfermedad y Essequias funebres de la Serenissima Reyna de España Doña Ysabel de Valois, por Juan Lopez Catedratico del Estudio de Madrid (Madrid, 1569), fol. 4.

[20] Ibid., ubi supra.—The learned professor has given the various symptoms of the queen's malady with as curious a minuteness as if he had been concocting a medical report. As an order was issued, shortly after the publication of the work, prohibiting its sale, copies of it are exceedingly rare.

these prayers were not heard. The strength of Isabella continued rapidly to decline, and by the last of September her life was despaired of. The physicians declared that science could go no further, and that the queen's only hope must be in Heaven.[21] In Heaven she had always trusted; nor was she so wedded to the pomps and glories of the world that she could not now willingly resign them.

As her ladies, many of them her countrywomen, stood weeping around her bed, she endeavored to console them under their affliction, kindly expressing the interest she took in their future welfare, and her regret that she had not made them a better mistress,—" as if," says a contemporary, who has left a minute record of her last moments, " she had not been always more of a mother than a mistress to them all! " [22]

On the evening of the second of October, as Isabella felt herself drawing near her end, she made her will. She then confessed, partook of the sacrament, and, at her desire, extreme unction was administered to her. Cardinal Espinosa and the king's confessor, the bishop of Cuença, who were present, while they offered her spiritual counsel and consolation, were greatly edified by her deportment; and, giving her their parting benedic-

[21] Quintana, Historia de Madrid, fol. 390.—Letter of Fourquevaulx, October 3d, 1568, ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 139.—Juan Lopez, Relacion de la Enfermedad de la Reyna Ysabel, ubi supra.—Pinelo, Anales de Madrid, MS.

[22] " Porque en efecto, el modo y manera conque ella las trataba, no hera de señora á quien pareciesen servir, sino de madre y compañera." Juan Lopez, Relacion de la Enfermedad de la Reyna Ysabel, loc. cit.

tion, they went away deeply affected by the spirit of Christian resignation which she displayed.[23]

Before daybreak, on the following morning, she had her last interview with Philip. We have the account of it from Fourquevaulx. "The queen spoke to her husband very naturally," says the ambassador, "and like a Christian. She took leave of him forever, and never did princess show more goodness and piety. She commended to him her two daughters, and her principal attendants, beseeching him to live in amity with the king of France, her brother, and to maintain peace,—with other discourse, which could not fail to touch the heart of *a good husband, which the king was to her.* He showed, in his replies, the same composure as she did, and promised to obey all her requests, but added, he did not think her end so near. He then withdrew,—as I was told,—in great anguish, to his own chamber." [24] Philip sent a fragment of the true cross, to comfort his wife in her last moments. It was the most precious of his relics, and was richly studded with pearls and diamonds.[25] Isabella fervently kissed the sacred relic, and held it, with the crucifix, in her hand, while she yet lived.

Not long after the interview with her husband, the ambassador was summoned to her bedside. He

[23] Juan Lopez, Relacion de la Enfermedad de la Reyna Ysabel, loc. cit.—Pinelo, Anales de Madrid, MS.

[24] Letter of Fourquevaulx, October 3d, 1568, ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 159.

[25] "Habia ordenado se tragese el lignum crucis del Rey nuestro Señor, que es una muy buena parte que con grandismo hornato de oro y perlas de supremo valor S. M. tiene." Juan Lopez, Relacion de la Enfermedad de la Reyna Isabel.

was the representative of her native land, and of the dear friends there she was never more to see. " She knew me," writes Fourquevaulx, " and said, " You see me in the act of quitting this vain world, to pass to a more pleasant kingdom, there, as I hope, to be forever with my God. Tell my mother, the queen, and the king, my brother, to bear my death with patience, and to comfort themselves with the reflection that no happiness on earth has ever made me so content as the prospect now does of approaching my Creator. I shall soon be in a better situation to do them service, and to implore God to take them and my brothers under his holy protection. Beseech them, in my name, to watch over their kingdom, that an end may be put to the heresies which have spread there. And I will pray Heaven, in its mercy, to grant that they may take my death with patience, and hold me for happy.' " [26]

The ambassador said a few words of comfort, endeavoring to give her, if possible, some hopes of life. But she answered, " You will soon know how near I am to my end. God has given me grace to despise the world and its grandeur, and to fix all my hopes on him and Jesus Christ. Never did a thought occasion me less anxiety than that of death."

" She then listened to the exhortations of her confessor, remaining in full possession of her consciousness till a few minutes before her death. A slight restlessness seemed to come over her, which

[26] Letter of Fourquevaulx, ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 159.

soon subsided, and she expired so tranquilly that it was impossible to fix the moment when she gave up the ghost. Yet she opened her eyes once, bright and glancing, and it seemed as if she would address me some further commands,—at least, her looks were fixed on me." [27]

Not long before Isabella's death, she was delivered of a daughter. Its birth was premature, and it lived only to be baptized. The infant was laid in the same coffin with its mother; and that very evening their remains were borne in solemn procession to the royal chapel.[28] The tolling of the bells in the churches and monasteries throughout the city announced the sad tidings to the people, who filled the air with their cries, making everywhere the most passionate demonstrations of grief; [28] for the queen, says Brantôme, "was regarded by them not merely with feelings of reverence, but of idolatry." [30]

[27] Letter of Fourquevaulx, ap. Raumer, loc. cit.—The correspondence of the French ambassador Fourquevaulx is preserved, in MS., in the Royal Library at Paris. Raumer, with his usual judgment, has freely extracted from it; and the freedom with which I have drawn upon him shows the importance of his extracts to the illustration of the present story. I regret that my knowledge of the existence of this correspondence came too late to allow me to draw from the original sources.

[28] "Bistieron a la Reyna de habito de S. Francisco, y la pusieron en un ataud poniendo con ella la infanta que en poco espacio habiendo recebido agua de Espiritu Santo murió." Juan Lopez, Relacion de la Enfermedad de la Reyna Ysabel.

[29] "Fue cosa increible el doblar, y chamorear, por todas las parroquias, y monasterios, y hospitales. Lo cual causó un nuebo dolor y grandisimo aumento de tristeza, siendo ya algo tarde los grandes que en la corte se hallaban, y mayordomos de S. M. sacaron el cuerpo de la Reyna, y binieron con el a la Capilla Real." Ibid.

[30] "Jamais on ne vit peuple si desolé ny si affligé, ni tant jeter de hauts cris, ny tant espandre de larmes qu'il fit. . . . Que, pour ma-

In the chapel were gathered together whatever was illustrious in the capital,—the high ecclesiastics, and the different religious bodies, the grandees and cavaliers of the court, and the queen's ladies of honor. At the head of these stood the duchess of Alva, the mistress of the robes, with the duchess of Feria—an English lady, married to the Spanish ambassador at the court of Mary Tudor—and the princess of Eboli, a name noted in history. The coffin of the deceased queen, covered with its gorgeous pall of brocade, was placed on a scaffold shrouded in black, and surrounded with numerous silver scones bearing wax tapers, that shed a gloomy lustre over the scene.[31] The services were performed amidst the deepest stillness of the audience, unless when broken by the wailings of the women, which mingled in sad harmony with the chant of the priests and the sweet and solemn music that accompanied the office for the dead.[32]

Early on the following morning the coffin was opened in the presence of the duchess of Alva and the weeping ladies of her train, who gazed for the last time on features still beautiful in death.[33] The

niere de parler, vous eussiez dit qu'il l'idolatroit plustost qu'il ne l'honoroit et reveroit." Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. v. p. 131.

[31] "Puesto el cuerpo por este orden cubierto con un muy rico paño de brocado rodeado el cadalso de muchas achas en sus muy sumtuosos blandones de plata." Juan Lopez, Relacion de la Enfermedad de la Reyna Ysabel, ubi supra.

[32] "Las damas en las tribunas de donde oye misa con hartos suspiros y sollozos llebaban el contrapunto á la suave, triste y contemplatiba musica, conque empezaron el oficio la capilla de S. M." Ibid., ubi supra.

[33] "Las cuales viendo apartar el cuerpo, dieron muchos gritos, y suspiros y abriendole la duquesa de Alba, trajo muchos polbos de

duchess then filled the coffin with flowers and sweet-scented herbs; and the remains of mother and child were transported by the same sorrowing company to the convent of the barefooted Carmelites. Here they reposed till the year 1573, when they were borne, with the remains of Carlos, to the stately mausoleum of the Escorial; and the populace, as they gazed on the funeral train, invoked the name of Isabella as that of a saint.[34]

In the course of the winter, Cardinal Guise arrived from France with letters of condolence from Charles the Ninth to his royal brother-in-law. The instructions to the cardinal do not infer any distrust, on the part of the French monarch, as to the manner of his sister's death. The more suspicious temper of the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, is seen in her directions to Fourquevaulx to find out what was said on the subject of her daughter's death, and to report it to her.[35] It does not seem that the ambassador gathered any information of consequence to add to his former details.

Philip himself may have had in his mind the possible existence of such suspicions when he told the cardinal that "his best consolation for his loss was derived from his reflection on the simple and excellent life of the queen. All her attendants, her

olores aromaticos de grande olor y fragrancia, y embalsamon a la Reyna: la cual aunque habia pasado tanto tiempo estaba como si entonces acabara de morir, y con tan gran hermosura en el rostro que no parecia esta muerta." Juan Lopez, Relacion de la Enfermedad de la Reyna Isabel, ubi supra.

[34] Letter of St. Goar, June 18th, 1573, ap. Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 163.—Quintana, Historia de Madrid, fol. 370.

[35] Letter of Catherine de Medicis, ap. Raumer, vol. i. p. 162.

ladies and maids, knew how well he had treated her, as was sufficiently proved by the extraordinary sorrow which he felt at her death. Hereupon," continues the cardinal, "he broke forth into a panegyric on her virtues, and said, were he to choose again, he could wish nothing better than to find just such another." [36] It was not long before Philip made the attempt. In eighteen months from the date of his conversation with the cardinal, the thrice-widowed husband led to the altar his fourth and last wife, Anne of Austria,—like her predecessor, as we have seen, the destined bride of his son. The facility with which her imperial parents trusted the young princess to the protection of Philip may be thought to intimate pretty clearly that they, at least, had no misgivings as to the king's treatment of his former wife.*

Isabella, at her decease, was but twenty-three years of age, eight of which she had been seated on the throne of Spain. She left two children, both daughters,—Catherine, afterwards married to the duke of Savoy, and Clara Eugenia, who became with her husband, the Archduke Albert, joint ruler of the Netherlands, and who seems to have enjoyed a greater share of both the love and the confidence of Philip that he ever vouchsafed to any other being.

Such is the story of Queen Isabella, stripped of

[36] Letter of Cardinal Guise, February 6th, 1569, ap. Raumer, vol. i. p. 163.

* [The proposal, as already mentioned, had come from the emperor. Catherine de Medicis also no sooner heard of Isabella's death than she offered another of her daughters for the vacant place. Gachard, Don Carlos et Philippe II.—K.]

the coloring of romance, for which, in truth, it has been quite as much indebted to the pen of the historian as to that of the poet. From the whole account it appears that, if Carlos at any time indulged a criminal passion for his step-mother, such a passion was never requited or encouraged by Isabella, who seems to have felt for him only the sentiments that were justified by their connection and by the appeal which his misfortunes made to her sympathy. Notwithstanding some feelings of resentment, not unnatural, when, in the words of Brantôme, "he had been defrauded of so fair a prize," there is yet little evidence that the prince's passion for her rose higher than the sentiments of love and gratitude which her kindness might well have awakened in an affectionate nature.[37] And that such, with all his errors, was the nature of Carlos, is shown, among other examples, by his steady attachment to Don John of Austria, his uncle, and by his devotion to his early preceptor, the bishop of Osma.

There is no proof that Philip was at any time displeased with the conduct of his queen, or that he regarded his son in the light of a rival. Least of all is there anything in the history of the time to show that he sacrificed his wife to his jealousy.[38]

[37] The openness with which Carlos avowed his sentiments for Isabella may be thought some proof of their innocence. Catherine de Medicis, in a letter to Fourquevaulx, dated February 23d, 1568, says, alluding to the prince's arrest, "I am concerned that the event very much distresses my daughter, as well with regard to her husband as in respect of the prince, who has always let her know the good will he bears to her." Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 141.

[38] The French historian De Thou, by no means disposed to pass too favorable a judgment on the actions of Philip, and who in the

The contrary is well established by those of her own countrymen who had free access to her during her lifetime,—some of them in the hour of her death,—whose correspondence with her family would not have failed to intimate their suspicions had there been anything to suspect.

Well would it be for the memory of Philip the Second could the historian find no heavier sin to lay to his charge than his treatment of Isabella. From first to last he seems to have regarded her with the indulgence of an affectionate husband. Whether she ever obtained such an ascendency over his close and cautious nature as to be allowed to share in his confidence and his counsels, may well be doubted. Her temper would seem to have been too gentle, too devoid of worldly ambition, to prompt her to meddle with affairs for which she was fitted neither by nature nor education. Yet Brantôme assures us that she exercised a most salutary influence over her lord in his relations with France, and that the value of this influence was appreciated in later times, when the growing misunderstandings between the two courts were left to rankle without any friendly hand to heal them.[39] "Her death," he continues, "was as

present case would certainly not be likely to show him any particular grace, rejects without hesitation the suspicion of foul play on the part of the king: "Quelquesuns soupçonnerent Philippe de l'avoir fait empoissoner, parce qu'il lui avoit fait un crime de la trop grande familiarité qu'elle avoit avec Dom Carlos. Il est néanmoins facile de se convaincre du contraire, par la grande et sincère douleur que sa mort causa, tant à la Cour que dans toute l'Espagne; le Roi la pleura, comme une femme qu'il aimoit tres-tendrement." Histoire universelle, tom. v. p. 437.

[39] Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. v. p. 137.—Yet Isabella's mother, Catherine de Medicis, found fault with her daughter, in the interview at

bitter to her own nation as it was to the Spaniards; and if the latter called her 'the Queen of Peace and Goodness,' the former with no less reason styled her 'the Olive-branch.'" [40] "But she has passed away," he exclaims, "in the sweet and pleasant April of her age,—when her beauty was such that it seemed as if it might almost defy the assaults of time." [41]

The queen occupies an important place in that rich gallery of portraits in which Brantôme has endeavored to perpetuate the features of contemporaries. In no one of them has he traced the lineaments with a more tender and delicate hand. Even the breath of scandal has had no power to dim the purity of their expression. Of all that illustrious company which the artist has brought in review before the eyes of posterity, there is no one to whom he has so truly rendered the homage of the heart as to Elizabeth of France.

But from these scenes of domestic sorrow it is time that we should turn to others of a more stirring and adventurous character.

Bayonne, for having become altogether a Spaniard, saying to her, tauntingly, "*Muy Española venis.*" To which the queen meekly replied, "It is possible that it may be so; but you will still find me the same daughter to you as when you sent me to Spain." The anecdote is told by Alva in a letter to the king. Carta del Duque de Alva al Rey, MS.

[40] "Aussi l'appelloit-on *la Reyna de la paz y de la bondad*, c'est-à-dire la Reyne de la paix et de la bonté; et nos François l'appellarent l'olive de paix." Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. v. p. 129.

[41] "Elle est morte au plus beau et plaisant avril de son age. . . . Car elle estoit de naturel et de tainct pour durer longtemps belle, et aussi que la vieillesse ne l'eust osé attaquer, car sa beauté fut esté plus forte." Ibid., p. 137.

BOOK V

CHAPTER I

THE MOORS OF SPAIN

Conquest of Spain by the Arabs—Slow Recovery by the Spaniards —Efforts to convert the Moslems—Their Homes in the Alpujarras—Their Treatment by the Government—The Minister Espinosa—Edict against the Moriscoes—Their ineffectual Remonstrance

1566, 1567

IT was in the beginning of the eighth century, in the year 711, that the Arabs, filled with the spirit of conquest which had been breathed into them by their warlike apostle, after traversing the southern shores of the Mediterranean, reached the borders of those straits that separate Africa from Europe. Here they paused for a moment, before carrying their banners into a strange and unknown quarter of the globe. It was but for a moment, however, when, with accumulated strength, they descended on the sunny fields of Andalusia, met the whole Gothic array on the banks of the Guadalete, and, after that fatal battle in which King Roderick fell, with the flower of his nobility, spread themselves, like an army of locusts, over every part of the Peninsula.* Three

* [The story of the Mohammedan conquest reads like a wild romance. Invited perhaps(?) by Count Julian to revenge the wrongs inflicted upon him by King Roderick, five hundred Arabs, under Tarif, crossed the straits, landed at the place which still bears the chieftain's name (Tarifa), plundered the neighboring country, almost without opposition, and then sailed joyfully back to Africa to tell their comrades of the rich domain Allah had prepared for

years sufficed for the conquest of the country,—except that small corner in the north, where a remnant of the Goths contrived to maintain a savage independence, and where the rudeness of the soil held out to the Saracens no temptation to follow them.

It was much the same story that was repeated, more than three centuries later, by the Norman conquerors in England. The battle of Hastings was to that kingdom what the battle of Guadalete was to Spain; though the Norman barons, as they rode over the prostrate land, dictated terms to the vanquished of a sterner character than those granted by the Saracens.

But whatever resemblance there may be in the general outlines of the two conquests, there is none in the results that followed. In England the Norman and the Saxon, sprung from a common stock, could not permanently be kept asunder by the barrier which at first was naturally interposed between the conqueror and the conquered; and in less, probably, than three centuries after the invasion, the two nations had imperceptibly melted into one, so that the Englishman of that day might trace the current that flowed through his veins to both a Norman and a Saxon origin.

It was far otherwise in Spain, where difference

their swords. An army of ten or twelve thousand men under Taric was quickly raised for the conquest of the Christian lands. Taric landed at the foot of "the hill of Taric,"—Gebel Taric, *i.e.*, Gibraltar. The story told of so many conquerors is told of him—that he burned his ships behind him. Roderick, with an army more than five times as large as the invading force, rushed to meet him, and was defeated with immense slaughter. The kingdom of the Visigoths in Spain ceased to be.—M.]

of race, of religion, of national tradition, of moral and physical organization, placed a gulf between the victors and the vanquished too wide to be overleaped. It is true, indeed, that very many of the natives, accepting the liberal terms offered by the Saracens, preferred remaining in the genial clime of the south to sharing the rude independence of their brethren in the Asturias, and that, in the course of time, intermarriages, to some extent, took place between them and their Moslem conquerors; to what extent cannot now be known. The intercourse was certainly far greater than that between our New-England ancestors and the Indian race which they found in possession of the soil,—that ill-fated race, which seems to have shrunk from the touch of civilization, and to have passed away before it like the leaves of the forest before the breath of winter. The union was probably not so intimate as that which existed between the old Spaniards and the semi-civilized tribes that occupied the plateau of Mexico, whose descendants at this day are to be there seen filling the highest places, both social and political, and whose especial boast it is to have sprung from the countrymen of Montezuma.

The very anxiety shown by the modern Spaniard to prove that only the *sangre azul*—"blue blood" *—flows through his veins, uncontaminated by any Moorish or Jewish taint, may be thought to afford some evidence of the intimacy

* [The "blue blood" which comes from his fair Gothic ancestors, the blood that may be seen coursing through the veins of the wrists in all the fair-skinned peoples.—M.]

which once existed between his forefathers and the tribes of Eastern origin. However this may be, it is certain that no length of time ever served, in the eye of the Spaniard, to give the Moslem invader a title to the soil; and after the lapse of nearly eight centuries—as long a period as that which has passed since the Norman conquest—the Arabs were still looked upon as intruders whom it was the sacred duty of the Spaniards to exterminate or to expel from the land.

This, then, was their mission. And it is interesting to see how faithfully they fulfilled it; and during the long period of the Middle Ages, when other nations were occupied with base feudal quarrels or border warfare, it is curious to observe the Spaniard intent on the one great object of reclaiming his country from the possession of the infidel. It was a work of time; and his progress, at first almost imperceptible, was to be measured by centuries. By the end of the ninth century it had reached as far as the Ebro and the Douro.* By the middle of the eleventh the victorious banner of the Cid had penetrated to the Tagus. The fortunes of Christian Spain trembled in the balance on the great day of Navas de Tolosa, which gave a permanent ascendency to the Castilian arms; and by the middle of the thirteenth century the campaigns of James the First of Aragon, and of St. Ferdinand of Castile, stripping the Moslems of the other southern provinces, had reduced them to

* [To this period belong the expedition of Charlemagne, with its great battle of Roncesvalles, the exploits of the mythical Bernardo del Carpio, and other chiefs dear to romance writers.—M.]

the petty kingdom of Granada. Yet on this narrow spot they still continued to maintain a national existence, and to bid defiance for more than two centuries longer to all the efforts of the Christians. The final triumph of the latter was reserved for the glorious reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. It was on the second of January, 1492, that, after a war which rivalled that of Troy in its duration and surpassed it in the romantic character of its incidents, the august pair made their solemn entry into Granada; while the large silver cross which had served as their banner through the war, sparkling in the sunbeams on the red towers of the Alhambra, announced to the Christian world that the last rood of territory in the Peninsula had passed away forever from the Moslem.

The peculiar nature of the war in which the Spaniard for eight centuries had thus been engaged exercised an important influence on the national character. Generation after generation had passed their lives in one long, uninterrupted crusade. It had something of the same effect on the character of the nation that the wars for the recovery of Palestine had on the Crusaders of the Middle Ages. Every man learned to regard himself as in an especial manner the soldier of Heaven, —forever fighting the great battle of the Faith. With a mind exalted by this sublime conviction, what wonder that he should have been ever ready to discern the immediate interposition of Heaven in his behalf?—that he should have seen again and again the patron saint of his country, charging on his milk-white steed at the head of his celestial chiv-

alry, and restoring the wavering fortunes of the fight? * In this exalted state of feeling, institutions that assumed elsewhere only a political or military aspect wore here the garb of religion. Thus the orders of chivalry, of which there were several in the Peninsula, were founded on the same principles as those of Palestine, where the members were pledged to perpetual war against the infidel.

As a consequence of these wars with the Moslems, the patriotic principle became identified with the religious. In the enemies of his country the Spaniard beheld also the enemies of God; and feelings of national hostility were still further embittered by those of religious hatred. In the palmy days of the Arabian empire, these feelings, it is true, were tempered by those of respect for an enemy who in the various forms of civilization surpassed not merely the Spaniards, but every nation in Christendom. Nor was this respect wholly abated under the princes who afterwards ruled with imperial sway over Granada, and who displayed in their little courts such a union of the courtesies of Christian chivalry with the magnificence of the East as shed a ray of glory on the declining days of the Moslem empire in the Peninsula.

But as the Arabs, shorn of their ancient opulence and power, descended in the scale, the Spaniards become more arrogant. The feelings of

* [This was true even in the cases of Cortés and his soldiers in Mexico, and of the anything but religious throng which flocked to the standard of Pizarro in Peru.—M.]

aversion with which they had hitherto regarded their enemies were now mingled with those of contempt. The latent fire of intolerance was fanned into a blaze by the breath of the fanatical clergy, who naturally possessed unbounded influence in a country where religious considerations entered so largely into the motives of action as they did in Spain. To crown the whole, the date of the fall of Granada coincided with that of the establishment of the Inquisition,—as if the hideous monster had waited the time when an inexhaustible supply of victims might be afforded for its insatiable maw.

By the terms of the treaty of capitulation, the people of Granada were allowed to remain in possession of their religion and to exercise its rites; and it was especially stipulated that no inducements or menaces should be held out to effect their conversion to Christianity.[1] For a few years the conquerors respected these provisions. Under the good Talavera, the first archbishop of Granada, no attempt was made to convert the Moslems except by the legitimate means of preaching to the people and of expounding to them the truths of revelation. Under such a course of instruction the work of proselytism, though steadily, went on too slowly to satisfy the impatience of some of the clergy. Among others, that extraordinary man, Cardinal

[1] "Que ningun Moro ni Mora serán apremiados á ser Christianos contra su voluntad; y que si alguna doncella, ó casada, ó viuda, por razon de algunos amores se quisiere tornar Christiana, tampoco será recebida, hasta ser interrogada." See the original treaty, as given *in extenso* by Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos (Madrid, 1797), tom. i. pp. 83–98.

Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, was eager to try his own hand in the labor of conversion. Having received the royal assent, he set about the affair with characteristic ardor, and with as little scruple as to the means to be employed as the most zealous propagandist could have desired. When reasoning and expostulation failed, he did not hesitate to resort to bribes, and, if need were, to force. Under these combined influences the work of proselytism went on apace. Thousands were added daily to the Christian fold; * and the more orthodox Mussulmans trembled at the prospect of a general defection of their countrymen. Exasperated by the unscrupulous measures of the prelate, and the gross violation they involved of the treaty, they broke out into an insurrection, which soon extended along the mountain-ranges in the neighborhood of Granada.

Ferdinand and Isabella, alarmed at the consequences, were filled with indignation at the high-handed conduct of Ximenes. But he replied that the state of things was precisely that which was most to be desired. By placing themselves in an attitude of rebellion, the Moors had renounced all the advantages secured by the treaty, and had, moreover, incurred the penalties of death and confiscation of property! It would be an act of grace in the sovereigns to overlook their offence and grant an amnesty for the past, on condition that every Moor should at once receive baptism or leave

* [A mop was used for the baptism of hundreds. They were sprinkled at one time with the "hyssop of Collective Regeneration."—M.]

the country.[2] This precious piece of casuistry, hardly surpassed by anything in ecclesiastical annals, found favor in the eyes of the sovereigns, who, after the insurrection had been quelled, lost no time in proposing the terms suggested by their minister as the only terms of reconciliation open to the Moors. And as but few of that unhappy people were prepared to renounce their country and their worldly prospects for the sake of their faith, the result was that in a very short space of time, with but comparatively few exceptions, every Moslem in the dominions of Castile consented to objure his own faith and receive that of his enemies.[3]

A similar course of proceeding was attended with similar results in Valencia and other dominions of the crown of Aragon, in the earlier part of Charles the Fifth's reign; and before that young monarch had been ten years upon the throne the whole Moorish population—*Moriscoes*, as they were henceforth to be called—were brought within the pale of Christianity, or, to speak more correctly, within that of the Inquisition.[4]

Such conversions, it may well be believed, had taken too little root in the heart to bear fruit. It was not long before the agents of the Holy Office detected, under the parade of outward conformity,

[2] "Y que pues habian sido rebeldes, y por ello merecian pena de muerte y perdimento de bienes, el perdon que les concediese fuese condicional, con que se tornasen Christianos, ó dexasen la tierra." Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, tom. i. p. 122.

[3] The reader curious in the matter will find a full account of it in the History of Ferdinand and Isabella, part ii. chapters 6, 7.

[4] Advertimientos de Don Geronimo Corella sobre la Conversion de los Moriscos del Reyno de Valencia, MS.

as rank a growth of infidelity as had existed before the conquest. The blame might in part, indeed, be fairly imputed to the lukewarmness of the Christian laborers employed in the work of conversion. To render this more effectual, the government had caused churches to be built in the principal towns and villages occupied by the Moriscoes, and sent missionaries among them to wean them from their errors and unfold the great truths of revelation. But an act of divine grace could alone work an instantaneous change in the convictions of a nation. The difficulties of the preachers were increased by their imperfect acquaintance with the language of their hearers; and they had still further to overcome the feeling of jealousy and aversion with which the Spaniard was naturally regarded by the Mussulman. Discouraged by these obstacles, the missionary became indifferent to the results. Instead of appealing to the understanding or touching the heart of his hearer, he was willing to accept his conformity to outward ceremony as the evidence of his conversion. Even in his own performance of the sacred rites the ecclesiastic showed a careless indifference, that proved his heart was little in the work; and he scattered the purifying waters of baptism is so heedless a way over the multitude that it was not uncommon for a Morisco to assert that none of the consecrated drops had fallen upon him.[5]

[5] "Sin tratar de instruir á cada uno en particular ni de examinar los ni saber su voluntad los baptizaron á manadas y de modo que algunos de ellos, segun es fama, pusieron pleito que no les avia tocado el agua que en comun les hechavan." Advertimientos de Corella, MS.

The representations of the clergy at length drew the attention of the government. It was decided that the best mode of effecting the conversion of the Moslem was by breaking up those associations which connected them with the past,—by compelling them, in short, to renounce their ancient usages, their national dress, and even their language. An extraordinary edict to that effect, designed for Granada, was accordingly published by Charles in the summer of 1526; and all who did not conform to it were to be arraigned before the Inquisition. The law was at once met, as might have been expected, by remonstrances from the men of most consideration among the Moriscoes, who, to give efficacy to their petition, promised the round sum of eighty thousand gold ducats to the emperor in case their prayers should be granted. Charles, who in his early days did not always allow considerations of religion to supersede those of a worldly policy, lent a favorable ear to the petitioners; and the monstrous edict, notwithstanding some efforts to the contrary, was never suffered to go into operation during his reign.[6]

Such was the state of things on the accession of

[6] Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, tom. i. pp. 133–155.—Bleda, Coronica de los Moros de España (Valencia, 1618), p. 656.—Advertimientos de Corella, MS.—Ferreras, Hist. générale d'Espagne, tom. ix. pp. 65, 68.—Vanderhammen, Don Juan de Austria, fol. 55.—The last writer says that, besides the largess to the emperor, the Moriscoes were canny enough to secure the good will of his ministers by a liberal supply of doubloons to them also: "Sirvieron al Emperador con ochenta mil ducados. Aprovechòles esto, y buena suma de doblones que dieron à los privados para que Carlos suspendiesse la execucion deste acuerdo."

Philip the Second. Granada, Malaga, and the other principal cities of the south were filled with a mingled population of Spaniards and Moriscoes, the latter of whom,—including many persons of wealth and consideration,—under the influence of a more intimate contact with the Christians, gave evidence, from time to time, of conversion to the faith of their conquerors. But by far the larger part of the Moorish population was scattered over the mountain-range of the Alpujarras, southeast of Granada, and among the bold sierras that stretch along the southern shores of Spain. Here, amidst those frosty peaks, rising to the height of near twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea, and readily descried, from their great elevation, by the distant voyager on the Mediterranean, was many a green, sequestered valley, on which the Moorish peasant had exhausted that elaborate culture which in the palmy days of his nation was unrivalled in any part of Europe.[7] His patient toil had constructed terraces from the rocky soil, and, planting them with vines, had clothed the bald sides of the sierra with a delicious verdure. With the like industry he had contrived

[7] Calderon, in his "Amar despues de la Muerte," has shed the splendors of his muse over the green and sunny spots that glitter like emeralds amidst the craggy wilds of the Alpujarras;

"Porque entre puntas y puntas
Hay valles que la hermosean,
Campos que la fertilizan,
Jardines que la deleitan.
Toda ella está poblada
De villages y de aldeas;
Tal, que, cuando el sol se pone
Á las vislumbres que deja,
Parecen riscos nacidos
Cóncavos entre las peñas,
Que rodaron de la cumbre
Aunque á la falda no llegán."

a net-work of canals along the valleys and lower levels, which, fed by the streams from the mountains, nourished the land with perpetual moisture. The different elevations afforded so many different latitudes for agricultural production; and the fig, the pomegranate, and the orange grew almost side by side with the hemp of the north and the grain of more temperate climates.* The lower slopes of the sierra afforded extensive pastures for flocks of merino sheep;[8] and the mulberry-tree was raised in great abundance for the manufacture of silk, which formed an important article of export from the kingdom of Granada.

Thus gathered in their little hamlets among the mountains, the people of the Alpujarras maintained the same sort of rugged independence which belonged to the ancient Goth when he had taken shelter from the Saracen invader in the fastnesses of Asturias. Here the Moriscoes, formed into communities which preserved their national associations, still cherished the traditions of their fathers, and perpetuated those usages and domestic institutions that kept alive the memory of ancient days. It was from the Alpujarras that, in former times, the kings of Granada had drawn the brave soldiery who enabled them for so many years to bid defiance to their enemies. The trade of war

[8] Señor de Gayangos, correcting a blunder of Casiri on the subject, tells us that the Arabic name of the Alpujarras was *Albusherât*, signifying "mountains abounding in pastures." See that treasure of Oriental learning, the History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain (London, 1843), vol. ii. p. 515.

* [These products of the East had been introduced into the peninsula by the Arabs.—M.]

was now at an end. But the hardy life of the mountaineer gave robustness to his frame, and saved him from the effeminacy and sloth which corrupted the inhabitants of the capital. Secluded among his native hills, he cherished those sentiments of independence which ill suited a conquered race; and, in default of a country which he could call his own, he had that strong attachment to the soil which is akin to patriotism, and which is most powerful among the inhabitants of a mountain-region.

The products of the husbandman furnished the staples of a gainful commerce with the nations on the Mediterranean, and especially with the kindred people on the Barbary shores. The treaty of Granada secured certain commercial advantages to the Moors beyond what were enjoyed by the Spaniards.[9] This, it may well be believed, was looked upon with no friendly eye by the latter, who had some ground, moreover, for distrusting the policy of an intercourse between the Moslems of Spain and those of Africa, bound together as they were by so many ties,—above all, by a common hatred of the Christians. With the feelings of political distrust were mingled those of cupidity and envy, as the Spaniard saw the fairest prov-

[9] Such was the exemption from certain duties paid by the Christians in their trades with the Barbary coast,—a singular and not very politic provision: "Que si los Moros que entraren debaxo de estas capitulaciones y conciertos, quisieren ir con sus mercaderias á tratar y contratar en Berbería, se les dará licencia para poderlo hacer libremente, y lo mesmo en todos los lugares de Castilla y de la Andalucía, sin pagar portazgos, ni los otros derechos que los Christianos acostumbran pagar." Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, tom. i. p. 93.

inces of the south still in the hands of the accursed race of Ishmael, while he was condemned to earn a scanty subsistence from the comparatively ungenial soil of the north.

In this state of things, with the two races not merely dissimilar, but essentially hostile to one another, it will readily be understood how difficult it must have been to devise any system of legislation by which they could be brought to act in harmony as members of the same political body. That the endeavors of the Spanish government were not crowned with success would hardly surprise us, even had its measures been more uniformly wise and considerate.

The government caused the Alpujarras to be divided into districts and placed under the control of magistrates, who, with their families, resided in the places assigned as the seats of their jurisdiction. There seem to have been few other Christians who dwelt among the Moorish settlements in the sierra, except, indeed, the priests who had charge of the spiritual concerns of the natives. As the conversion of these latter was the leading object of the government, they caused churches to be erected in all the towns and hamlets, and the curates were instructed to use every effort to enlighten the minds of their flocks, and to see that they were punctual in attendance on the rites and ceremonies of the Church. But it was soon too evident that attention to forms and ceremonies was the only approach made to the conversion of the heathen, and that below this icy crust of conformity the waters of infidelity lay as dark and deep as

ever. The result, no doubt, was to be partly charged on the clergy themselves, many of whom grew languid in the execution of a task which seemed to them to be hopeless.[10] And what task, in truth, could be more hopeless than that of persuading a whole nation at once to renounce their long-established convictions, to abjure the faith of their fathers, associated in their minds with many a glorious recollection, and to embrace the faith of the very men whom they regarded with unmeasured hatred? It would be an act of humiliation not to be expected even in a conquered race.

In accomplishing a work so much to be desired, the Spaniards, if they cannot be acquitted of the charge of persecution, must be allowed not to have urged persecution to anything like the extent which they had done in the case of the Protestant reformers. Whether from policy or from some natural regard to the helplessness of these benighted heathen, the bloodhounds of the Inquisition were not as yet allowed to run down their game at will; and, if they did terrify the natives by displaying their formidable fangs, the time had not yet come when they were to slip the leash and spring upon their miserable victims. It is true

[10] Such is the opinion expressed by the author of the "*Advertimientos*," whose remarks—having particular reference to Valencia—are conceived in a spirit of candor, and of charity towards the Moslems, rarely found in a Spaniard of the sixteenth century. "De donde," he says, "colije claramente que el no sanar estos enfermos hasta agora no se puede imputar à ser incurable la enfermedad, sino à averse errado la cura, y tambien se vee que hasta oy no estan bastamente descargados delante de Dios nuestro Señor aquellos á quien toca este negocio, pues no han puesto los medios que Christo nuestro Señor ordenados para la cura de este mal." MS.

there were some exceptions to this more discreet policy. The Holy Office had its agents abroad, who kept watch upon the Moriscoes; and occasionally the more flagrant offenders were delivered up to its tender mercies.[11] But a more frequent source of annoyance arose from the teasing ordinances from time to time issued by the government, which could have answered no other purpose than to irritate the temper and sharpen the animosity of the Moriscoes. If the government had failed in the important work of conversion, it was the more incumbent on it, by every show of confidence and kindness, to conciliate the good will of the conquered people, and enable them to live in harmony with their conquerors, as members of the same community. Such was not the policy of Philip, any more than it had been that of his predecessors.

During the earlier years of his reign the king's attention was too closely occupied with foreign affairs to leave him much leisure for those of the Moriscoes. It was certain, however, that they would not long escape the notice of a prince who regarded uniformity of faith as the corner-stone of his government. The first important act of legislation bearing on these people was in 1560, when the Cortes of Castile presented a remon-

[11] "Forzandoles con injurias y penas pecuniarias y justiciando á algunos de ellos." Advertimientos de Corella, MS.—Mendoza speaking of a somewhat later period, just before the outbreak, briefly alludes to the fact that the Inquisition was then beginning to worry the Moriscoes more than usual: "Porque la Inquisicion les comenzó á apretar mas de lo ordinario." Guerra de Granada (Valencia, 1776), p. 20.

strance to the throne against the use of negro slaves by the Moriscoes, who were sure to instruct them in their Mahometan tenets and thus to multiply the number of infidels in the land.[12] A royal *pragmatic* was accordingly passed, interdicting the use of African slaves by the Moslems of Granada. The prohibition caused the greatest annoyance; for the wealthier classes were in the habit of employing these slaves for domestic purposes, while in the country they were extensively used for agricultural labor.

In 1563 another ordinance was published, reviving a law which had fallen into disuse, and which prohibited the Moriscoes from having any arms in their possession but such as were duly licensed by the captain-general and were stamped with his escutcheon.[13] The office of captain-general of Granada was filled at this time by Don Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, count of Tendilla, who soon after, on his father's death, succeeded to the title of marquis of Mondejar. The important post which he held had been hereditary in his family ever since the conquest of Granada. The present nobleman was a worthy scion of the illustrious house from which he sprang.[14] His manners were blunt, and not such as win popularity; but he was

[12] Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, tom. i. p. 135.

[13] Ibid., tom. ii. p. 338.—Ordenanzas de Granada, fol. 375, ap. Circourt, Hist. des Arabes d'Espagne (Paris, 1846), tom. ii. p. 267. —The penalty for violating the above ordinance was six years' hard labor in the galleys. That for counterfeiting the stamp of the Mendoza arms was death. *Væ victis!*

[14] The name of Mendoza, which occupied for so many generations a prominent place in arms, in politics, and in letters, makes its first appearance in Spanish history as far back as the beginning of the thirteenth century.—Mariana, Historia de España, tom. i. p. 676.

a man of integrity, with a nice sense of honor and a humane heart,—the last of not too common occurrence in the iron days of chivalry. Though bred a soldier, he was inclined to peace. His life had been passed much among the Moriscoes, so that he perfectly understood their humors; and, as he was a person of prudence and moderation, it is not improbable, had affairs been left to his direction, that the country would have escaped many of those troubles which afterwards befell it.

It was singular, considering the character of Mendoza, that he should have recommended so ill-advised a measure as that relating to the arms of the Moriscoes. The ordinance excited a general indignation in Granada. The people were offended by the distrust which such a law implied of their loyalty. They felt it an indignity to be obliged to sue for permission to do what they considered it was theirs of right to do. Those of higher condition disdained to wear weapons displaying the heraldic bearings of the Mendozas instead of their own. But the greater number, without regard to the edict, provided themselves secretly with arms, which, as it reached the ears of the authorities, led to frequent persecutions. Thus a fruitful source of irritation was opened, and many, to escape punishment, fled to the mountains, and there too often joined the brigands who haunted the passes of the Alpujarras and bade defiance to the feeble police of the Spaniards.[15]

[15] M. de Circourt, in his interesting volumes, has given a minute account—much too minute for these pages—of the first development of the insurrectionary spirit of the Moriscoes, in which he shows a

These impolitic edicts, as they were irritating to the Moriscoes, were but preludes to an ordinance of so astounding a character as to throw the whole country into a state of revolution. The apostasy of the Moriscoes—or, to speak more correctly, the constancy with which they adhered to the faith of their fathers—gave great scandal to the old Christians—especially to the clergy, and above all to its head, Don Pedro Guerrero,* archbishop of Granada. This prelate seems to have been a man of an uneasy, meddlesome spirit, and possessed of a full share of the bigotry of his time. While in Rome, shortly before this period, he had made such a representation to Pope Pius the Fourth as drew from that pontiff a remonstrance, addressed to the Spanish government, on the spiritual condition of the Moriscoes. Soon after, in the year, 1567, a memorial was presented to the government by Guerrero and the clergy of his diocese, in which, after insisting on the manifold backslidings of the "new Christians," as the Moriscoes were termed, they loudly called for some efficacious measures to arrest the evil. These people, they said, whatever show of conformity they might make to the requisitions of the Church, were infidels at heart. When their children were baptized, they were careful, on returning home, to wash away the traces of baptism, and, after circumcising them, to give them Moorish names. In like manner, when their mar-

very careful study of the subject.—Hist. des Arabes d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 268, et seq.

* [His name, "Guerrero" (he who is inclined to warfare), suited him well.—M.]

riages had been solemnized with Christian rites, they were sure to confirm them afterwards by their own ceremonies, accompanied with the national songs and dances. They continued to observe Friday as a holy day; and, what was of graver moment, they were known to kidnap the children of the Christians and sell them to their brethren on the coast of Barbary, where they were circumcised, and nurtured in the Mahometan religion. This last accusation, however improbable, found credit with the Spaniards, and sharpened the feelings of jealousy and hatred with which they regarded the unhappy race of Ishmael.[16]

The memorial of the clergy received prompt attention from the government, at whose suggestion, very possibly, it had been prepared. A commission was at once appointed to examine into the matter; and their report was laid before a junta consisting of both ecclesiastics and laymen, and embracing names of the highest consideration for talent and learning in the kingdom. Among its members we find the duke of Alva, who had not yet set out on his ominous mission to the Netherlands. At its head was Diego de Espinosa, at that time the favorite minister of Philip, or at least the one who had the largest share in the direction of affairs. He was a man after the king's own heart, and, from the humble station of *colegial mayor* of the college of Cuença in Salamanca, had

[16] Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ix. p. 524.—Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, tom. i. p. 142.—Vanderhammen, Don Juan de Austria, fol. 55.

been advanced by successive steps to the high post of president of the Council of Castile and of the Council of the Indies. He was now also bishop of Siguenza, one of the richest sees in the kingdom. He held an important office in the Inquisition, and was soon to succeed Valdés in the unenviable post of grand inquisitor. To conclude the catalogue of his honors, no long time was to elapse before, at his master's suggestion, he was to receive from Rome a cardinal's hat. The deference shown by Philip to his minister, increased as it was by this new accession of spiritual dignity, far exceeded what he had ever shown to any other of his subjects.

Espinosa was at this time in the morning, or rather the meridian, of his power. His qualifications for business would have been extraordinary even in a layman. He was patient of toil, cheerfully doing the work of others as well as his own. This was so far fortunate that it helped to give him that control in the direction of affairs which was coveted by his aspiring nature. He had a dignified and commanding presence, with but few traces of that humility which would have been graceful in one who had risen so high by his master's favor as much as by his own deserts. His haughty bearing gave offence to the old nobility of Castile, who scornfully looked from the minister's present elevation to the humble level from which he had risen. It was regarded with less displeasure, it is said, by the king, who was not unwilling to see the pride of the ancient aristocracy rebuked by one whom he had himself raised from

the dust.[17] Their mortification, however, was to be appeased ere long by the fall of the favorite,—an event as signal and unexpected by the world, and as tragical to the subject of it, as the fall of Wolsey.

The man who was qualified for the place of grand inquisitor was not likely to feel much sympathy for the race of unbelievers. It was unfortunate for the Moriscoes that their destinies should be placed in the hands of such a minister as Espinosa. After due deliberation, the junta came to the decision that the only remedy for the present evil was to lay the axe to the root of it,—to cut off all those associations which connected the Moriscoes with their earlier history, and which were so many obstacles in the way of their present conversion. It was recommended that they should be interdicted from employing the Arabic either in speaking or writing, for which they were to use only the Castilian. They were not even to be allowed to retain their family names, but were to exchange them for Spanish ones. All written instruments and legal documents, of whatever kind, were declared to be void and of no effect unless in the Castilian. As time must be allowed for a whole people to change its language, three years

[17] Such was the judgment of the acute Venetian who, as one of the train of the minister Tiepolo, obtained a near view of what was passing in the court of Philip the Second: "Levato di bassissimo stato dal re, e posto in tanta grandezza in pochi anni, per esser huomo da bene, libero et schietto, et perchè S. M. vuol tener bassi li grand di Spagna, conoscendo l' altierissima natura loro." Gachard, Relations des Ambassadeurs Vénitiens sur Charles-Quint et Philippe II. (Bruxelles, 1855), p. 175.

were assigned as the period at the end of which this provision should take effect.

They were to be required to exchange their national dress for that of the Spaniards; and, as the Oriental costume was highly ornamented, and often very expensive, they were to be allowed to wear their present clothes one year longer if of silk, and two years if of cotton, the latter being the usual apparel of the poorer classes. The women, moreover, both old and young, were to be required, from the passage of the law, to go abroad with their faces uncovered,—a scandalous thing among Mahometans.

Their weddings were to be conducted in public, after the Christian forms; and the doors of their houses were to be left open during the day of the ceremony, that any one might enter and see that they did not have recourse to unhallowed rites. They were further to be interdicted from the national songs and dances with which they were wont to celebrate their domestic festivities. Finally, as rumors—most absurd ones—had got abroad that the warm baths which the natives were in the habit of using in their houses were perverted to licentious indulgences, they were to be required to destroy the vessels in which they bathed, and to use nothing of the kind thereafter.*

* ["The Arabs of Andalusia are also the cleanest people on earth in what regards their person, dress, beds, and the interior of their houses; indeed, they carry cleanliness to such an extreme that it is not an uncommon thing for a man of the lower classes to spend his last dirhem in soap instead of buying food for his daily consumption, and thus go without his dinner rather than appear in public with dirty clothes" (Gayangos, History of the Mohammedan

These several provisions were to be enforced by penalties of the sternest kind. For the first offence the convicted party was to be punished with imprisonment for a month, with banishment from the country for two years, and with a fine varying from six hundred to ten thousand maravedis. For a second offence the penalties were to be doubled; and for a third, the culprit, in addition to former penalties, was to be banished for life. The ordinance was closely modelled on that of Charles the Fifth, which, as we have seen, he was too politic to carry into execution.[18]

Such were the principal provisions of a law which, for cruelty and absurdity, has scarcely a parallel in history. For what could be more absurd than the attempt by an act of legislation to work such a change in the long-established habits of a nation,—to efface those recollections of the past, to which men ever cling most closely under the pressure of misfortune,—to blot out by a single stroke of the pen, as it were, not only the creed but the nationality of a people,—to convert the Moslem at once both into a Christian and into a Castilian? It would be difficult to imagine any greater outrage offered to a people than the provision compelling women to lay aside their veils,

[18] This remarkable ordinance may be found in the Nueva Recopilacion (ed. 1640), lib. viii. tit. 2, leyes 13–18.—The most severe penalties were those directed against the heinous offence of indulging in warm baths. For a second repetition of this, the culprit was sentenced to six years' labor in the galleys and the confiscation of half his estate!

Dynasties in Spain). This was at a time when the rest of Europe was entirely content with a bath once a year or so.—M.]

—associated as these were in every Eastern mind with the obligations of modesty; or that in regard to opening the doors of the houses and exposing those within to the insolent gaze of every passer; or that in relation to the baths,—so indispensable to cleanliness and comfort, especially in the warm climate of the south.

But the masterpiece of absurdity, undoubtedly, is the stipulation in regard to the Arabic language; as if by any human art a whole population, in the space of three years, could be made to substitute a foreign tongue for its own, and that, too, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, partly arising from the total want of affinity between the Semitic and the European languages, and partly from the insulated position of the Moriscoes, who in the cities had separate quarters assigned to them, in the same manner as the Jews, which cut them off from intimate intercourse with the Christians.* We may well doubt, from the character of this provision, whether the government had so much at heart the conversion of the Moslems as the desire to entangle them in such violations of the law as should afford a plausible pretext for driving them from the country altogether. One is strengthened in this view of the subject by the significant reply of Otadin, professor of theology at Alcalá, who, when consulted by Philip on the expediency of the ordinance, gave his hearty approbation of it, by

* [The French Canadians in English Canada still speak the language of their seventeenth century forefathers. In New Mexico, a territory of the United States for more than two generations, Spanish is still the language of the people of Spanish descent.—M.]

quoting the appalling Spanish proverb, "The fewer enemies, the better." [19] It was reserved for the imbecile Philip the Third to crown the disasters of his reign by the expulsion of the Moriscoes. Yet no one can doubt that it was a consummation earnestly desired by the great body of the Spaniards, who looked, as we have seen, with longing eyes to the fair territory which they possessed, and who regarded them with the feelings of distrust and aversion with which men regard those on whom they have inflicted injuries too great to be forgiven.

Yet there were some in the junta with whom the proposed ordinance found no favor. Among these, one who calls to mind his conduct in the Netherlands may be surprised to find the duke of Alva. Here, as in that country, his course was doubtless dictated less by considerations of humanity than of policy. Whatever may have been his reasons, they had little weight with Espinosa, who probably felt a secret satisfaction in thwarting the man whom he regarded with all the jealousy of a rival.[20]

What was Philip's own opinion on the matter we can but conjecture from our general knowledge of his character. He professed to be guided

[19] "De los enemijos los menos."—Circourt gives a version of the whole of the professor's letter, with his precious commentary on this text. (Hist. des Arabes d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 278.) According to Ferreras, Philip highly relished the maxim of his ghostly counsellor. Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ix. p. 525.

[20] Cabrera, throwing the responsibility of the subsequent troubles on Espinosa and Deza, sarcastically remarks that "two cowls had the ordering of an affair which had been better left to men with helmets on their heads." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 21.

by the decision of the " wise and learned men " to whom he had committed the subject. That this decision did no great violence to his own feelings, we may infer from the promptness with which he signed the ordinance. This he did on the seventeenth of November, 1566, when the pragmatic became a law.

It was resolved, however, not to give publicity to it at once. It was committed to the particular charge of one of the members of the junta, Diego Deza, auditor of the Holy Office, and lately raised by Espinosa to the important post of president of the chancery of Granada. This put him at once at the head of the civil administration of the province, as the marquis of Mondejar was at the head of the military. The different views of policy entertained by the two men led to a conflict of authority, which proved highly prejudicial to affairs. Deza, who afterwards rose to the dignity of cardinal, was a man whose plausible manners covered an inflexible will. He showed, notwithstanding, an entire subserviency to the wishes of his patron, Espinosa, who committed to him the execution of his plans.

The president resolved, with more policy than humanity, to defer the publication of the edict till the ensuing first of January, 1567, the day preceding that which the Spaniards commemorated as the anniversary of the surrender to the capital. This humiliating event, brought home at such a crisis to the Moriscoes, might help to break their spirits, and dispose them to receive the obnoxious edict with less resistance.

On the appointed day the magistrates of the principal tribunals, with the corregidor of Granada at their head, went in solemn procession to the Albaicin, the quarter occupied by the Moriscoes. They marched to the sound of kettle-drums, trumpets, and other instruments; and the inhabitants, attracted by the noise and fond of novelty, came running from their houses to swell the ranks of the procession on its way to the great square of *Bab el Bonat*. This was an open space, of large extent, where the people of Granada, in ancient times, used to assemble to celebrate the coronation of a new sovereign; and the towers were still standing from which the Moslem banners waved, on those days, over the heads of the shouting multitude. As the people now gathered tumultuously around these ancient buildings, the public crier, from an elevated place, read, in audible tones and in the Arabic language, the royal ordinance. One may imagine the emotions of shame, sorrow, and indignation with which the vast assembly, consisting of both sexes, listened to the words of an instrument every sentence of which seemed to convey a personal indignity to the hearers,—an outrage on all those ideas of decorum and decency in which they had been nurtured from infancy; which rudely rent asunder all the fond ties of country and kindred; which violated the privacy of domestic life, deprived them of the use of their own speech, and reduced them to a state of utter humiliation unknown to the meanest of their slaves. Some of the weaker sort gave way to piteous and passionate exclamations,

wringing their hands in an agony of grief. Others, of sterner temper, broke forth into menaces and fierce invective, accompanied with the most furious gesticulations. Others, again, listened with that dogged, determined air which showed that the mood was not the less dangerous that it was a silent one. The whole multitude was in a state of such agitation that an accident might have readily produced an explosion which would have shaken Granada to its foundations. Fortunately, there were a few discreet persons in the assembly, older and more temperate than the rest, who had sufficient authority over their countrymen to prevent a tumult. They reminded them that in their fathers' time the emperor Charles the Fifth had consented to suspend the execution of a similar ordinance. At all events, it was better to try first what could be done by argument and persuasion. When these failed, it would be time to think of vengeance.[21]

One of the older Moriscoes, a man of much consideration among his countrymen, was accordingly chosen to wait on the president and explain their views in regard to the edict. This he did at great length, and in a manner which must have satisfied any fair mind of the groundlessness of

[21] Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, tom. i. pp. 147–151.—Circourt, Hist. des Arabes d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 283.—Ferreras, Hist. d'Espagne, tom. ix. p. 535.—Dr. Salazar de Mendoza considers that nothing but a real love of rebellion could have induced the Moriscoes to find a pretext for it in a measure so just and praiseworthy, and every way so conducive to their own salvation, as this ordinance: "Tomaron por achaque esta accion tan justificada y meritoria del Rey, y para sus almas tan provechosa y saludable." Monarquia de España, tom. ii. p. 137.

the charges brought against the Moslems, and the cruelty and impracticability of the measures proposed by the government. The president, having granted to the envoy a patient and courteous hearing, made a short and not very successful attempt to vindicate the course of the administration. He finally disposed of the whole question by declaring that "the law was too just and holy, and had been made with too much consideration, ever to be repealed; and that, in fine, regarded as a question of interest, his majesty estimated the salvation of a single soul as of greater price than all the revenues he drew from the Moriscoes." [22] An answer like this must have effectually dispelled all thoughts of a composition, such as had formerly been made with the emperor.

Defeated in this quarter, the Moriscoes determined to lay their remonstrance before the throne. They were fortunate in obtaining for this purpose the services of Don Juan Henriquez, a nobleman of the highest rank and consideration, who had large estates at Beza, in the heart of Granada, and who felt a strong sympathy for the unfortunate natives. Having consented, though with much relucance, to undertake the mission, he repaired to Madrid, obtained an audience of the king, and presented to him a memorial on behalf of his unfortunate subjects. Philip received him graciously, and promised to give all attention to the paper. "What I have done in this matter,"

[22] "Y al fin concluyó con decircle resolutamente, que su Magestad queria mas fe que farda, y que preciaba mas salvar una alma, que todo quanto le podian dar de renta los Moriscos nuevamente convertidos." Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, tom. i. p. 163.

said the king, "has been done by the advice of wise and conscientious men, who have given me to understand that it was my duty." [23]

Shortly afterwards, Henriquez received an intimation that he was to look for his answer to the president of Castile. Espinosa, after listening to the memorial, expressed his surprise that a person of the high condition of Don Juan Henriquez should have consented to take charge of such a mission. "It was for that very reason I undertook it," replied the nobleman, "as affording me a better opportunity of being of service to the king." "It can be of no use," said the minister: "religious men have represented to his majesty that at his door lies the salvation of these Moors; and the ordinance which has been decreed, he has determined shall be carried into effect." [24]

Baffled in this direction, the persevering envoy laid his memorial before the councillors of state, and endeavored to interest them in behalf of his clients. In this he met with more success; and several of that body, among whom may be mentioned the duke of Alva and Luis de Avila, the grand commander of Alcantara, whom Charles the Fifth had honored with his friendship, entered heartily into his views. But it availed little with the minister, who would not even consent to delay the execution of the ordinance until time should have been given for further inquiry, or to confine

[23] "Que él habia consultado aquel negocio con hombres de ciencia y conciencia, y le decian que estaba obligado á hacer lo que hacia." Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, tom. i. p. 175.

[24] "Que el negocio de la prematica estaba determinado, y su Magestad resoluta en que se cumpliese." Ibid., ubi, supra.

the operation of it, at the outset, to one or two of the provisions, in order to ascertain what would probably be the temper of the Moriscoes.[25] Nothing would suit the peremptory humor of Espinosa but the instant execution of the law in all its details.

Nor would he abate anything of this haughty tone in favor of the captain-general, the marquis of Mondejar That nobleman, with good reason, had felt himself aggrieved that in discussions so materially affecting his own government he should not have been invited to take a part. From motives of expediency, as much as of humanity, he was decidedly opposed to the passage of the ordinance. It was perhaps a knowledge of this that had excluded him from a seat in the junta. His representations made no impression on Espinosa; and when he urged that, if the law were to be carried into effect, he ought to be provided with such a force as would enable him to quell any attempt at resistance, the minister made light of the danger, assuring him that three hundred additional troops were as many as the occasion demanded. Espinosa then peremptorily adjourned all further discussion, by telling the captain-general that it would be well for him to return at once to Granada, where his presence would be needed to enforce the execution of the law.[26]

[25] Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, tom. i. p. 176.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 21.

[26] "A estas y otras muchas razones que el Marques de Mondejar daba, Don Diego de Espinosa le respondió, que la voluntad de su Magestad era aquella, y que se fuese al reyno de Granada, donde seria de mucha importancia su persona, atropellando como siempre

It was clear that no door was left open to further discussion, and that, under the present government, no chance remained to the unfortunate Moriscoes of buying off the law by the payment of a round sum, as in the time of Charles the Fifth. All negotiations were at an end. They had only to choose between implicit obedience and open rebellion. It was not strange that they chose the latter.

todas las dificultades que le ponian por delante." Marmol, Rebelion de los Moriscos, tom. i. p. 168.